THE ALTERNATIVE

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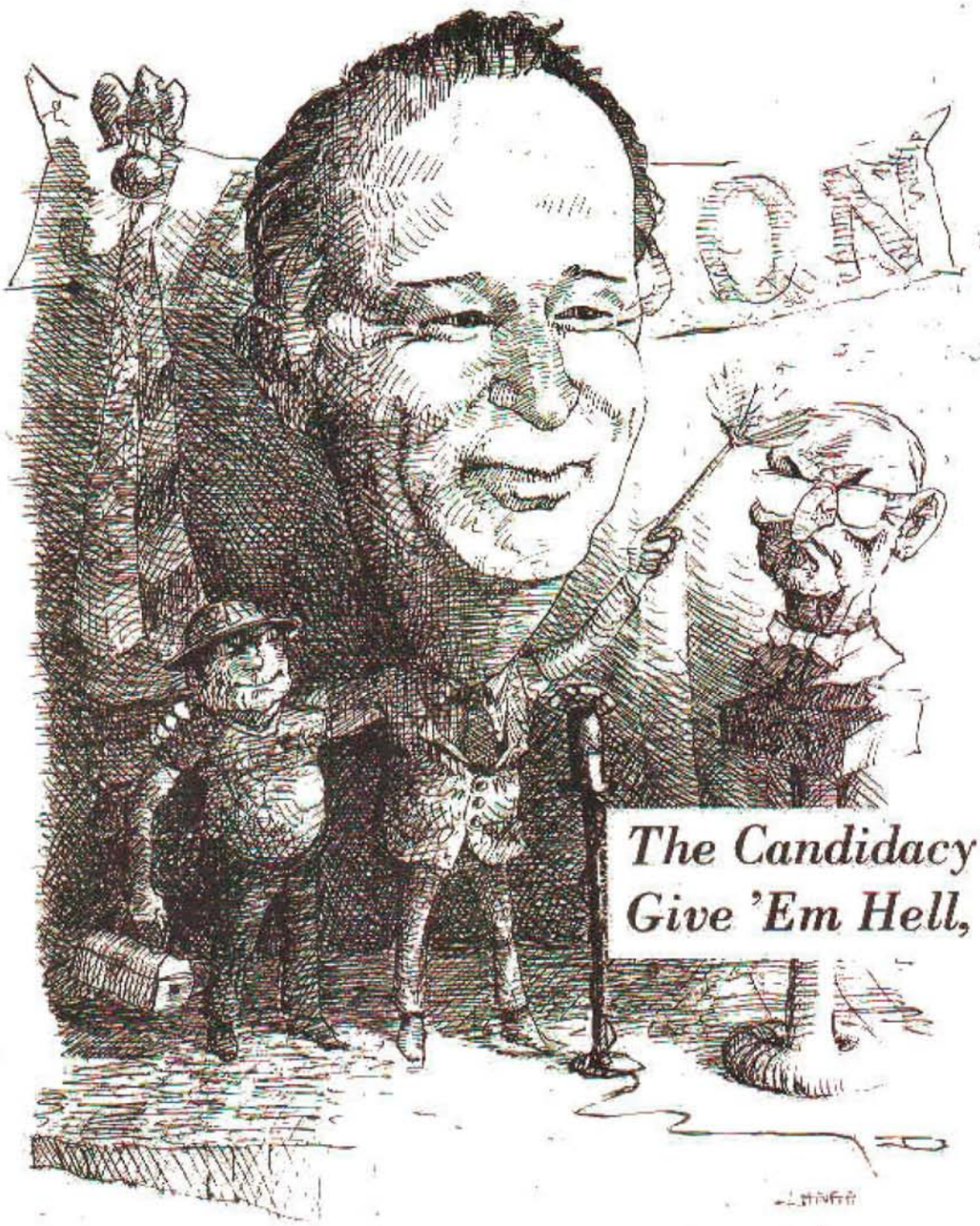

The Candidacy Of Sen. Jackson: Give 'Em Hell, Henry

North Discusses:

COPS IN YOUR GOO

Brozen Suggests:

THE ASSASSIN OF THE PRESIDENT'S GAME PLAN

Tyrrell Offers:

SOME UNSOLICITED ADVICE TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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THE ALTERNATIVE: TO BARE THE WITNESS AND THE TRUTH

Published remarkably without regard to race, color, creed, or (most redundantly of all) national origin — the question of sex is still in committee.

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The Continuing Crisis

● There was frolicking in the aisles as the United Nations eliminated its one fatal flaw by officially seating the People's Republic of China. Thirty-five women at Pencridge, England maintained silence for four hours to raise money for charity, and Nationalist China's discarded U.N. delegation was ordered by New York City officials to turn in its diplomatic plumage.

● Senators Buckley and Goldwater continued to make what many observers termed the "mean-spirited" demand that Congress cut down its appropriation to the United Nations. And on 17 November the United Nations distinguished itself yet again by ordering that very same United States Congress to rescind its recent legislation enabling Rhodesian chrome to be imported. This vote (106-2) occasioned the first time the World Body has ever attempted to correct the legislation of a sovereign state. In San Francisco Mr. Henry Harrington became the sixth man in history to survive a suicide jump from the Golden Gate Bridge. What went up must come down, eh Henry?

● Early in the month local elections were held across the nation. And, as the commentators said so prolixly, there was no noticeable trend. The Senate rejected the first foreign aid bill in history, but later, after bifurcating it and whittling away at the two bills' subsidies, foreign aid was reborn.

● The glamorous Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India, Prime Minister of what admirers call "the world's largest democracy," paid a visit to Mr. Nixon. And in the Netherlands Socialist legislator, Mr. Relus Ter Beek, pursued his sensational investigation of the Dutch Royal Family's activity with mystics. It is possible that the consultations of faith healer, Mr. Gerard Croiset, Jr., with Queen Juliana (deceased) constituted violations of the Medical Profession Act. Equally mysterious was Mr. Howard Samuel's New York luncheon for sixty millionaires at which the press was informed that Mr. Samuel's companions expected every presidential candidate to appear before them and respond to their questioning. American forces continue to withdraw from Vietnam. Now down to some 196,700 men, the American force is at its lowest number since 1965.

● Mayor Lindsay has now visited California, Arizona, Mississippi, Indiana, Florida, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Washington, D.C.

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Editorial

When An Old Republican Virtue Loses Its Luster

There comes a time in the life of every great man when his old virtues hoodwink him into mischief. Wilson's scholarliness eventually descended into bemused pedantry, and his ideals became harmless flummeries. In the fullness of time, Harding's charisma forced him to carry out his executive duties amongst the galoshes in the presidential cloak closet. And more recently, the august locutions of Kennedy emboldened us to debase our Republican virtue.

This principle also holds true for great institutions and even for political parties. Consider the Grand Old Party. For years its most winning virtue was that it was considered an abomination by all right-thinking truth seekers. Its candidates attracted snorts of hostility from intellectuals and academics alike, and few Republican candidates ever dared to acknowledge having read a book or smoked a pipe. The "Egg Heads" were left to the Democrats, while the Republicans made eyes at insurance salesmen, bank clerks and other magnificoes from that vast throng Mr. Nixon is given to calling the silent majority.

Lamentably this former strength is now becoming dubious, and soon it will be adjuged an abject vice even by Republicans. For America is, today, what Peregrine Worsthorne has described as a "post-industrial, affluent, mass society," and in such societies the intellectual community increases awesomely in size and potency. In this kind of society traditional fonts of Republicanism like the Rotary elicit hoohaws while the American Association of University Professors becomes fabulous in men's eyes — though its real function appears indistinguishable from Rotary and its members are generally less productive and always less couth.

Nevertheless, neither is it practicable nor utterly desirable for Republicans to embrace the learned men of the AAUP. For one thing not all academics are intellectuals. For another, too many intellectuals can be even more pernicious than too few — as the Democratic reformers are so imaginatively revealing. And finally, after an exhaustive axiological reckoning, it seems to me manifest that intellectuals, as they disport themselves today, are about as useful to modern man as poison ivy. If the Republicans are to appreciate the benefits of intellectuals they will have to cure the intellectual of his numerous bad habits.

There are three essential problems attending the intellectuals' rise in American politics: a) democratic government cannot possibly accommodate the intellectual and remain democratic, b) democratic government can never count on the intellectuals' esteem and c) the intellectuals' penchant for sciolism usually renders his counsel attractively moronic, hence always unreliable.

Democratic government can accommodate the citizenry's disagreements over issues of zoning or water purity or public transportation. But issues that start intellectuals vibrating are not so tractable. Their vested interests are with moral principle, and moral principle does not yield so easily to compromise as does zoning legislation. And there is another problem in dealing with intellectuals.

As Irving Kristol has written, intellectuals "subscribe... to a prevailing ideology. This ideology permits them to interpret the past, make sense of the present, outline a shape for the future. It constitutes the essence of their rationality...." Obviously ideology is very dear to intellectuals and very comprehensive, but generally ideology (no matter which end of the spectrum it shades) does not matter a piffle to plumbers or farmers or latrine stewards. For government to satisfy the ideological desiderata of the intellectuals, government must neglect the interests of nonintellectuals on a wide range of matters. Such government is not apt to be terribly democratic, it being unlikely that any large pluralistic society will ever muster more enthusiasm for a better world than for a better school district. If government is to remain democratic intellectuals will have to accommodate their desire for things like a moral foreign policy with the common man's desire for things like voluntary prayer — such accommodations would, of course, give intellectuals nausea.

Finally, if government is to engage the devotions of the intellectuals government will have to cut defense expenditures when the time is right. Government will have to end starvation in America when starvation becomes a problem. Government will have to act morally, intelligently and humanely. In short, government officials will have to summon the courage to read *The New Republic* carefully; when that beacon of wisdom fades from fashion officials will have to read the *New York Review of Books*, perhaps then on to the *Los Angeles Free Press* and so it will go. Further, government will have to hold in reserve enough resources to act immediately and resolutely when the intellectuals discover a new crisis demanding immediate and resolute action. All things considered, government will have to change drastically ...and so will the world. Thus enough said about the catastrophe of intellectuals in politics.

Notwithstanding their catastrophic potential there are various little boons intellectuals bring to modern politics. In a secular, post-industrial society intellectuals are the only people who speak convincingly about moral principles. This is because anyone else who utters a peep on such matters is immediately plastered in obloquy. For an intellectual is a person whose intimate knowledge of one subject has not cautioned him against intimate revelations on all subjects, and in a society which hums along on the combustible material of ideas the average clod inevitably falls for the intellectuals' pretentions, regardless of the intellectuals' often idiotic conclusions. Thus because of modern society's mindless reverence for the intellect and because of the intellectuals' slovenly use of it, intellectuals are shaping that agglutination of style, sentiment, thought and action that overtakes a society, forming what can loosely be called its culture of propriety.

Now men with influence over style and the power to confer legitimacy even on the bungling of lunk-headed politicoes are enormously valuable to political parties, especially parties in such tender condition as the Grand Old Party. In an age of ideas political parties need men of ideas — preferably men of good ideas, which, of course, precludes many intellectuals. What political parties need, and what the Republican party now has access to, is educated men of intellect whose ideas are born of experience and whose forte is not brilliance but wise counsel. Such persons possess the inclination and the time to meditate on a philosophy of government. For them political exchange is not the incantation of moral absolutes, and, following Burke, they temper their general theories to political realities.

Fortunately for Republicans, congeries of educated men of intellect now exist whose scholarship is certifying the intelligence of traditional Republican principles. In their pristine form they write for *The Journal of Law and Economics*. A less radical species, possessed of a broader field of interests, writes for *The Public Interest*, and now such men even work for various Senators and Congressmen.

Now rumor has it that the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute is about to provide a think tank where these men can exchange ideas, and where those of them whose livelihoods depend on political fortune can seek refuge when the electorate has turned them out. Such a center would closely resemble the Brookings Institute, which has performed equivalent functions for the Democrats for years.

I take all of this to be a very good thing. Yet it remains uncertain whether the Republican party can opportunely discard its old virtue of pooh-poohing the intellectuals. The Assistant Presidents attending Mr. Nixon are erstwhile advertising wizards who consider the potency of ideas a snare and a delusion. They trust in the same virtues as Mr. Coolidge's Bascom Slemp or Mr. Harding's Harry Daugherty. But, all the while our embattled planet continues to spin through the cosmos and the luster of yesterday's virtue begins to chip and peel.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

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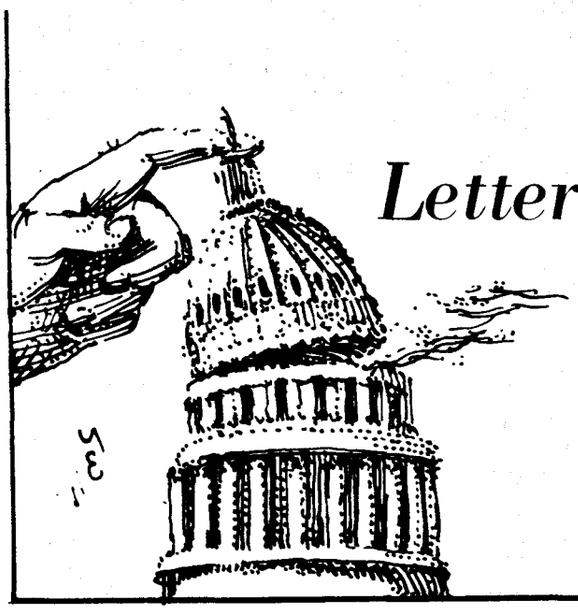

Letter from a Whig

The World's Oldest Priority

George F. Will

(WASHINGTON) — Christmas comes but once a year, and thank God for small favors. Almost every year when Christmas comes, it brings a legislative monstrosity. This year's monstrosity appeared like the Ghost of Monstrosities Past: it was a tax bill. Specifically, it was a bill that began as the Administration's request for measures considered necessary for Phase II of the new economic program. By the time the Senate was done with it, it resembled the usual kind of legislative Christmas tree that legislators love to decorate in the chaotic closing days of a session.

It was hung with various baubles to gladden the yuletide for various categories of citizens. But what made this Christmas tree especially vulgar is a bauble hung by Democratic politicians for the benefit of. . .Democratic politicians.

This bauble was the Pastore amendment regarding the financing of Presidential campaigns. It provides for a new check off" system for using tax incentives to induce taxpayers to contribute money to the three established political parties. It thrusts the Federal Government deeply into the business of subsidizing the political process and it puts us all on a slippery slope toward ever increasing Federal subsidies.

For those of you who have not been closely monitoring the Democratic Party's latest style in theft, the check off" system works this way. Our tax forms will have a spot where we can check off" a dollar for the Democratic, Republican or American Independent Parties. Such a check off" will *not* increase our tax bill by a dollar. Rather it will lower by $1 the amount which we pay in taxes for Government programs. That is, if a citizen's tax bill is $5,000, he can pay $5,000 to the Treasury for the support of regular Government programs, or he can check off" a dollar, so that $4,999 goes to support the governing process, and $1 goes to support a political party.

The important words in the amendment are: There is hereby established on the books of the Treasury of the United States a special fund to be known as the Presidential Election Campaign Fund.' There are hereby appropriated to the fund each fiscal year, out of the monies of the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, an amount equal to the sum of the amounts designated during the fiscal year by individuals."

As those words reveal, the fundamental point about this plan is that it involves the use of appropriated funds, drawn from tax revenues, for political purposes.

Not in my lifetime has there been such a brazen raid on the Treasury for purely private gain. It took place after, and because, Democratic Party Chairman Larry O'Brian took stock of the Party debt. This debt is a legacy of Democratic candidates who treat the Party treasury the way Democratic office holders traditionally treat the national Treasury — as a place to incur debts for others to pay.

Obviously the merits of the case meant nothing in getting the amendment passed. The crucial vote was as much of a strict party line affair as you are apt to find in the Senate.

The vote was 52-47 with Senator Mundt absent. The party split in the Senate is 55 Democrats (including Senator Byrd of Virginia, who won in 1970 as an independent) to 45 Republicans (including Senator Buckley who is listed as a Conservative-Republican). Republicans Mathias and Case voted with the Democrats. It is not clear why they did so. Democrats Eastland, Ervin, McClellan and Stennis voted with the Republicans. They are all senior Southerners. As such they are not going to run for President and they are so powerful that they do not need to curry favor with anyone who is going to run.

If you are in doubt as to why the check off" plan is obnoxious, just consider the following sixteen reasons. This list is not supposed to be complete, and is not. The reasons spring to mind in such profusion that I even despair of getting them into an order which reflects relative importance. But here goes.

1) Apologists for the Pastore amendment argue that the Amendment respects the individual because only the individual" is affected by his own free decision to earmark a dollar of his tax bill for the party of his choice. This is nonsense. Every time a taxpayer directs the Treasury to take $1 out of his contribution to the Treasury and give it to the politicians, it will mean that someone else has to be taxed that much more to provide the funds needed to operate the Government.

2) The United States is in debt. It is continuing to live beyond its means at an ever increasing rate. The nation has more needs (or the politicians continue to discover more needs") than it has revenues. None of this constitutes a news bulletin. But it is worth remarking in the light of the Pastore amendment. The United States now goes to the money market to borrow money — at interest — in order to pay its bills. If the Pastore amendment becomes law, the United States will go to the money market to pay for the campaign of impecunious politicians like, say, Teddy Kennedy.

3) Political campaigns, or at least the most costly parts of them, are largely exercises in propagandizing. If the Government starts subsidizing these campaigns, it will be abrogating the important principle that our Government does not engage in domestic propaganda. If the Government should not participate in the selling of the Pentagon, surely it should not participate in the selling of Hubert Humphrey or George Wallace or any other individual politician. But, dear reader, do not hold your breath for the liberal Democrats to rally round this insight.

4) How much money are we talking about? During the debate on the Pastore amendment the generally accepted figure was $20 million a year for each major party, and $6 million for George Wallace. But those figures represent the *annual* take. That means $80 million every four years for the major parties and $24 million for Wallace. That is an absurd amount of money. But you can bet your bottom dollar that each candidate will spend his bottom dollar. How? Well, how about direct mailings, computerized to include the recipient's name in the body of the letter? How about such a mailing to every mailbox in America? How about three such mailings?

5) Who among you, dear readers, believes that Presidential candidates will be the only persons subsidized? If the Pastore amendment becomes law, it will be no more than four years before Democratic Senators and Congressmen vote themselves a place at the public trough. And why not? If the principle is sound for Presidential candidates, what limits it to Presidential candidates? The principle is, of course, unsound, but, sure as God made little green apples, before 1980 the dollar check off " will be a five dollar check off," and every candidate for

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THE ALTERNATIVE January, 1972

Who Shot Down The Game Plan?

Yale Brozen

When President Nixon took office in 1969, he promised "disinflation without depression." I was, to say the least, skeptical of the likelihood of this being accomplished. We have never licked an inflation in the past without a recession.

You see, every inflation is caused by an increase in the quantity of money outrunning the increase in production. Inflations are caused by too much money chasing too few goods.

The inflation of the last few years began in 1965. It followed an acceleration in the rate of growth in money. From 1960 to 1964, the stock of money grew at a rate of two to three per cent per year. Prices rose by little more than one per cent a year. Then, in latter 1964, money growth was stepped up to more than five per cent. Prices began rising in 1965 at a faster rate, nearing a three per cent rate of increase in the last quarter. In 1965, money growth was stepped up to five and one-half per cent and prices accelerated to a three and five-tenths per cent rate of rise in 1966. In late 1967 and 1968, money growth moved up to between seven and nine per cent and the rate of price rise accelerated to six and one-half per cent by the end of 1969.

To stop the inflation, then, we had to slow the rate of money growth. However, every time we have decelerated money growth in the past, for thirteen to fifteen months, a recession has always followed. That was true in 1949, in 1953, in 1957 and in 1960 (see Table 1). Even the mini-recession of 1967 was preceded by ten months of declining monetary growth.

If it takes a slowing in monetary growth to stop an inflation, and if a thirteen to fifteen month continuous deceleration is always followed by a recession, how were we going to stop inflation, then, without producing a recession? Especially, how were we going to end the longest period of sustained inflation suffered in the post-war era, with all the inflation momentum that had been built, without a recession?

1970 THE MILDEST RECESSION YET

I must say, this administration has come closer to pulling off the trick than I had believed possible. In 1969, during the year following this administration's assumption of office, money growth rates were cut from the nine per cent level of mid-1968 to one and two-tenths per cent by the end of 1969. As usual, fifteen months of declining rates of money growth were followed by a recession — a recession which began in November 1969. The recession was, however, the mildest yet experienced in American economic history. Unemployment rates went from three and five-tenths per cent in December 1969, to a six and two-tenths per cent peak in December 1970.

The mildest recession previously experienced was the 1960-61 decline. In that one, unemployment rates peaked at six and nine-tenths per cent in March and May 1961 (eight and one-tenths per cent not seasonally adjusted in February 1961). Unemployment averaged six and seven-tenths per cent in 1961 compared to four and nine-tenths per cent in 1970. This has, indeed, been a very mild recession.

TABLE ONE

CHANGES IN THE STOCK OF MONEY 1947-1971

Date	Money (billions)	Change from Preceding Year
June 1947	$110.9	2.4 %
June 1948	110.8	-0.1
June 1949	110.2	-0.5 Recession
June 1950	112.9	2.4
June 1951	117.6	4.2
June 1952	124.2	5.6
June 1953	127.6	2.7
June 1954	129.0	1.1 Recession
June 1955	133.5	3.5
June 1956	135.1	1.2
June 1957	135.9	0.6
June 1958	137.4	1.1 Recession
June 1959	142.4	3.6
June 1960	139.3	-2.1
June 1961	142.1	1.9 Recession
June 1962	145.2	2.2
June 1963	149.0	2.9
June 1964	154.2	3.4
June 1965	160.8	4.3
June 1966	170.0	5.7
June 1967	175.7	3.4 Mini recession
June 1968	188.5	7.3
June 1969	200.5	6.4
June 1970	207.8	3.6 Recession
June 1971	223.6	7.6

Source: FEDERAL RESERVE BULLETIN, June, 1964; October, 1969; December, 1970; July 1971
Recessions: Nov. 1948-Oct. 1949; July 1953-August 1954; July 1957-April 1958; May 1960-February 1961 Nov. 1969-Nov. 1970
The mini recession in the first half of 1967 was preceded by a decline in the rate of increase in the money stock from 5.2 per cent in 1956 to 1.3 per cent in 1966 (Jan. 1966 to Jan. 1967).

WHAT WAS THE GAME PLAN?

Although the recently ended recession was very mild, and we have recovered to a record level of jobs (79,800,000) topping the previous record in the first quarter of 1970 by 800,000 the recession was more severe than the President and his advisors intended. The Council of Economic Advisors did its planning in 1969 on the basis of restraining any rise in unemployment, intending to keep it below the five per cent level. Their plan was based on the expectation that steps could be taken which would end the inflation without forcing unemployment above a four and five-tenths per cent average for 1970. Maximum unemployment of five per cent at the end of 1970 was expected to be the peak. Instead unemployment averaged nearly five per cent in 1970 and unemployment hit a peak of six and two-tenths at the end of 1970. What went wrong?

In order to put the situation in perspective, I should first tell you that what you have learned about our government consisting of three branches which check and balance each other is wrong. Our government has four branches. In addition to the usual three branches discussed in government courses — the executive, the legislature and the judiciary — there is a fourth branch called the Federal Reserve System. It has primacy in governing the economic health of the nation. It controls the supply of money. It is independent of the other three branches. It is headed by a seven man Board of Governors who serve fourteen year terms — one expiring every two years. That prevents the President from appointing his majority to the Board until shortly before he leaves office at the end of eight years — assuming he serves two terms. President Nixon, for example, made his first appointment to the Board one year after he took office. Six of the seven members now serving on the Board are appointees of previous administrations — the same men whose actions caused the inflation with which we have been living.

The administration may *propose* a game plan for the economy, but it is the Federal Reserve which disposes. The administration's game plan was to slow monetary growth to a three per cent rate well within a twelve month period after the peak rate of 1968. That would avoid protracting the deceleration over a thirteen to fifteen month period that would be likely to bring on a recession. The administration proposed that once the rate of money growth was brought down to three per cent, deceleration would be halted. The rate

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TABLE TWO

ANNUAL RATES OF CHANGE IN MONEY STOCK FROM SIX MONTHS PRIOR TO MONTH SHOWN

Figures provided in

	July, 1969	Sept. 1969	Oct. 1969	Dec. 1970
May, 1968	5.7%			7.0 %
June	6.8			7.8
July	7.9	8.4%		8.7
Aug.	8.5	9.0	8.6 %	8.6
Sept.	6.8	7.4	8.0	8.4
Oct.	6.5	7.5	7.4	8.3
Nov.	6.3	7.2	7.4	7.7
Dec.	6.2	6.9	7.1	7.6
Jan. 1969	4.6	5.5	6.6	6.8
Feb.	3.7	4.8	5.6	6.9
Mar.	4.8	5.6	5.7	6.7
April	5.9	6.4	6.7	6.9
May	3.5	4.3	4.9	5.7
June	2.4	3.8	4.4	5.1
July		3.9	3.6	5.0
Aug.		2.8	2.9	3.3
Sept.			2.5	2.7
Oct.				2.2
Nov.				1.9
Dec.				1.2

at which money is pumped into the economy would then be held stable at this level. It is a level consistent with a deceleration of inflation to a one to two per cent rate within three to four years from the then prevailing six and one-half per cent rate without causing unemployment to go to recession depths.

In every previous case of slowing money growth when attempting to halt inflation, the Federal Reserve has always gone too far in decelerating money growth. Prior to the 1949 recession, for example, money growth rates were reduced to a point where the stock of money actually *decreased* instead of being held stable at a three per cent rate of rise. Prior to the 1953-54 recession, money growth was cut to a zero rate. Prior to the 1960-61 recession, money growth was cut to minus three per cent. The Federal Reserve has always over-reacted in trying to stem inflations or meet balance of payments problems in the past. This time, the administration hoped to persuade the Fed to avoid its typical over-reactions of the past and to avoid protracting the deceleration of money growth over such a long period that recession would necessarily follow.

By mid-1969, it appeared that the Federal Reserve had accepted the administration's game plan. Money growth rates were reported by the Federal Reserve as having been cut from the eight and one-half per cent rate of mid and late 1968 to a three per cent rate. The Council of Economic Advisers was satisfied with this performance. But then in mid-August, the Federal Reserve reported that its money growth rate figures were wrong (see Table 2). It had been subtracting some data adjustments twice when they should have been subtracted only once. It turned out that money growth had been cut to only five per cent instead of the three per cent that had been reported. This meant that inflation would not be brought down to a one to two per cent level within three years but only to a three to four per cent level, an unacceptably high rate.

The administration's reaction was understandably bitter. Paul McCracken, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, remarked that being forced to depend on the Federal Reserve for data on money growth was like having to depend on the Mafia for crime statistics. The bitterness was understandable since the Reserve's failure to cut the money growth to three per cent as it had reported doing meant that further cuts in money growth would have to be made to bring inflation under control. This meant that the period of deceleration would be protracted instead of being short. It would be more likely, as a consequence, to bring on a flattening in the growth of the economy or even a recession — an outcome that the administration ardently desired avoiding.

The Federal Reserve moved to cut money growth further to get down to the three per cent level. Here the story becomes a little complicated. Because the Reserve's primary tool is open market operations — buying and selling Treasury bills and bonds — it has an operator of the Open Market Desk who is given instructions to buy or sell in order to achieve desired rates of money growth. His instructions were not given in terms of money growth targets, however. They were given in terms of stabilizing interest rates at some desired level. The Reserve forecasts what rates of money growth will be associated with various levels of interest rates. It then picks that level of interest rates which it believes will result in the desired rate of growth of money. (or stem gold outflows or reduce balance of payments of deficits or encourage construction, etc.)

Unfortunately, no one can forecast that accurately. The Reserve picked interest rate targets it thought would result in a three per cent growth in money. However, the interest rate targets it picked turned out to generate a decrease in money in the last quarter of 1969. It had cut the rate of growth too far and it had protracted the deceleration over too long a period. Recession began in December 1969, although no one knew at the time that it had arrived. We never know definitely that we are in a recession until it has gone on for six months.

The administration was well aware, however, that its game plan had not been followed. Members of the administration and the Council were furious with the Reserve. They argued vehemently in late 1969 for stepping up the rate of increase in the money stock to at least three per cent before it was too late.

On 15 January 1970, a revolution occurred at the Reserve, partly in response to the pressures from the administration and partly in response to several years of nagging from the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress. At the Reserve's Open Market Committee meeting on that date, it issued an instruction to the operator of the Open Market Desk that he was to take those actions which would achieve a three per cent growth in the monetary aggregates. As one of my friends later remarked, "The Reserve was organized 23 December 1913 to control the stock of money. On 15 January 1970, it started trying." Always before January 1970, the Reserve had made stabilization interest rates at some desired level its primary goal. In January 1970, money growth moved to a primary goal position for the first time.

It was too late, however. The administration's game plan had already been derailed by the Reserve. The Reserve tried to get back on the track in early 1970, six months too late. The recession had started. It is much more difficult to stop a recession than it is to avoid one in the first place.

During all of 1970, the administration had to worry about limiting the decline in the economy. Inflation took second place. As a consequence, it had to readjust its game plan to aim at that objective. Instead of urging the Reserve to cut money growth to a three per cent rate from the eight to nine per cent rate that had prevailed before it took office, it began urging the Reserve to increase the money growth rate from the minus one and a half per cent level to which the Reserve had cut by Christmas 1969, It urged the Reserve *not only to* increase it to a three per cent level but to push it on up to a six per cent level in order to stem the decline in the economy which had started.

The Reserve, however, clung to a three per cent target until spring of 1970 when it went to a four per cent target. It then clung to that target until summer when it grudgingly set a five per cent target. The Reserve did not go to a six per cent target until late 1970 when the economy had already bottomed.

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TABLE 3

ANNUALIZED ONE MONTH RATES OF MONEY GROWTH

1971

January	1.1%
February	14.9
March	14.9
April	9.7
May	16.3
June	9.5
July	10.6
August	2.7
August	2.7
September	-3.6
October	-2.6

Again, it was late in going to the administration's game plan, this time not by six months but by almost a year. Again, it was too late to avoid the contingencies that the administration was trying to avoid. The Reserve shifted to the game plan designed to limit unemployment to five per cent after unemployment had hit six per cent. It had failed to follow the administration's first game plan and had caused a downturn in the economy. It had failed to follow the administration's second game plan and had allowed a recession to develop.

This, however, is not the end of the story. Chastened by the consequences of its bumbling behavior, the Reserve not only adopted the six per cent target for money growth in late 1970, it went to a seven and a half per cent target in the first quarter of this year in an attempt to undo the damage it had done. Then in the second quarter, it adopted an eight to nine per cent money growth target for fear that rising interest rates would nip the recovery in the bud that had begun in December. Heavy demands for funds had come into the financial markets because of an expected revaluation of the German mark and because of attractively high interest rates in England. European banks and companies were borrowing dollars in order to invest in marks and in British bills to profit from the expected revaluation and from the interest rate differential. The Reserve projected a rise in short term rates to seventeen per cent unless it provided funds to meet these demands. It pumped money into the market in such volume that the stock of money grew at a sixteen per cent annual rate in May. (See Table 3)

I will never understand that episode. The Reserve pegged Reserve funds and bill rates at a four to four and a quarter per cent level in order to keep interest rates from going to seventeen per cent. Couldn't it have allowed interest rates to go to five or six per cent rather than pump money in at a sixteen per cent annual rate? Could it not have tested the effect of a small rise in interest rates rather than stubbornly insist that they would go to seventeen per cent unless it pumped money in at this incredible rate? Did it need to hold interest rates at four per cent to keep them from approaching its projected seventeen per cent? Wouldn't a rise in the peg to five or six per cent have at least restrained the flood of money a little and yet have avoided the imagined seventeen per cent interest rate?

Anyway, in its foolhardy endeavor to meet the demands for funds without allowing interest rates to rise, the Reserve flooded foreign central banks in such a tidal wave of dollars that the dollar was washed away as a reserve currency. Foreign central bank holdings of dollars doubled between February and July. The international financial system built with such effort at Bretton Woods and so painfully maintained since the end of World War II has now collapsed because of the Reserve's criminally inept attempt to hold interest rates at the four per cent level last April and May. Instead of following the administration's six per cent money growth game plan for this year, the Reserve dumped money into the economy at rates ranging between ten and sixteen per cent (one month changes annualized) from February through July. That threatened to accelerate inflation from the four per cent level it was brought down to in the second quarter of this year (from the six and one-half per cent level at the end of 1969). At this rate of money growth, inflation would be pushed to a ten per cent rate within a year if the administration had not acted on 15 August to freeze prices and wage rates.

I should add that the freeze will not work if the Reserve does not stop pumping money into the economy. Wage and price controls are unenforceable in the face of money growth exceeding two to three per cent. Even during World War II we had to constantly allow ceilings to rise because money growth exceeded this rate at that time (which it has done since August, but is overdoing at the moment, as usual).

If the Reserve will turn off the money pump, then wage and price controls will work. They will work then, however, primarily in the same way that householders in Connecticut used to be protected from tigers.

A friend of mine tells the story of an experience he had when he took a job in New York and set up his household in Silver Mine, Connecticut. He commuted on the New Haven Railroad each day to his job in New York. Each morning, as he rode the train to work, he noticed that one of the passengers kept tearing paper into bits and throwing them out the window of the coach. It was summer, the coach was not air conditioned, and the passengers opened the windows for some relief from the heat.

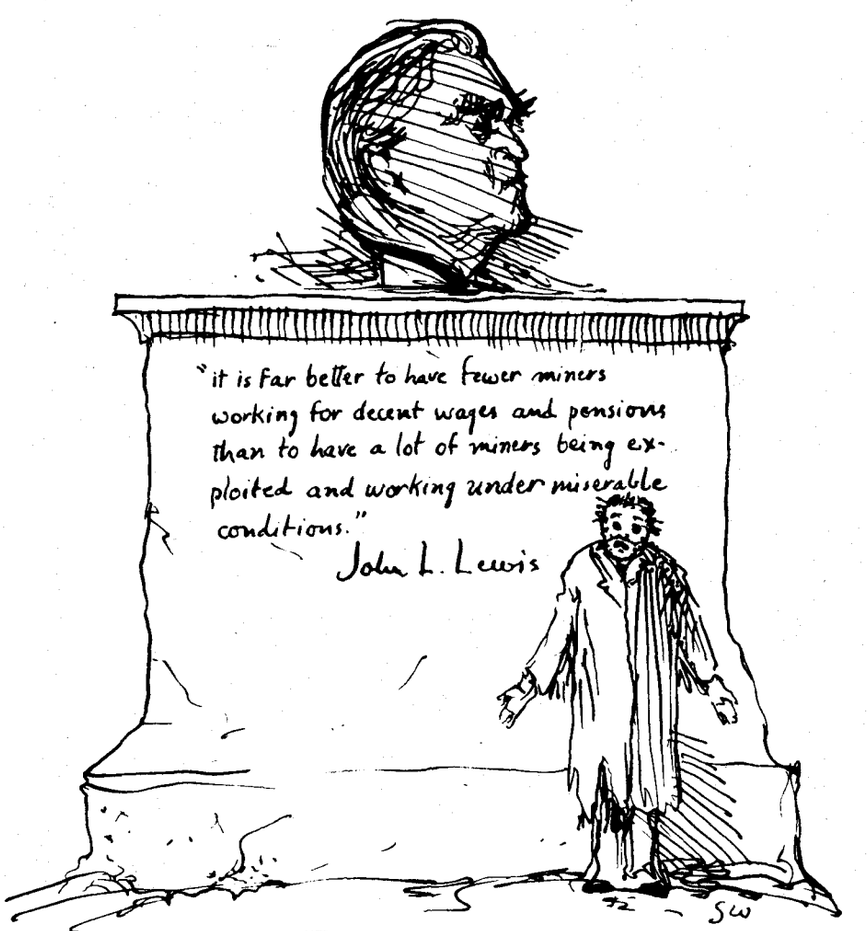
After two months of observing this behavior, he sat beside the man throwing the bits of paper out the window one morning and asked, "Why do you do that every day riding in to New York?"

His fellow passenger answered, with a perfectly straight face, "Keeps the tigers away."

My friend was a bit startled, to say the least. He said, "But there aren't any tigers in Connecticut."

His fellow passenger, continuing to tear up paper and throwing the bits out the window as he talked answered. "Now you know why." □

Yale Brozen is a professor of business economics at the Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago.


"it is far better to have fewer miners working for decent wages and pensions than to have a lot of miners being exploited and working under miserable conditions."
John L. Lewis

"Far better" for whom?

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Guilt: Is It Hereditary?

The Alternative is proud to publish this exclusive interview with Dr. Ernst Gruenwald, Dean of the School of Medicine, Rasimun University, Switzerland. Dr. Gruenwald is generally considered to be a pioneer in the investigation of psychoneurotic manifestations of happiness among middle-class children. His studies have earned for him plaudits from all over the globe, not the least of which is the coveted Bellinger Memorial Award of the International Psychoanalytical Convention held last year at Berne.

In a book to be published next year, Dr. Gruenwald will disclose his theory of guilt as a sign of national strength. The book, *Guilt: Is It Hereditary?*, is expected to be one of the publishing sensations of the season because of its central theme which is contrary to the findings of most American researchers into guilt phenomena. Dr. Gruenwald insists that guilt is not hereditary and that therefore environmental conditions are of utmost importance in the building up of much-needed guilt-feelings among middle-class children.

Q. Dr. Gruenwald, it has long been felt that the guilt-feeling phenomenon which has swept across America in recent years is a sign of national decadence. If I understand you correctly, your new theory sees guilt as something to be desired. Is that a fair interpretation of your theory of guilt?

A. Ja, it is not only fair, it is entirely correct. Guilt-feeling has definitely replaced intelligence as a means of predicting success in school and employment. Heretofore children were endlessly measured for their "intelligence" and there were fruitless attempts to bolster the intelligence levels of those who did not do well on these intelligence tests. But in recent years we have seen guilt-feelings rather than intelligence become the criterion by which we can measure whether or not a student is going to do well in school or life. The stronger the guilt-feelings, the better the student.

Q. Doesn't this fly in the face of classic psychoanalytical theory?

A. Once again I answer: ja! The average middle-class youth in college today is unsuccessful in classroom and social activities not because of his intelligence level but because of his guilt-feeling level. The more things he feels guilty about, the deeper his guilt-feelings are, and the more vehemence with which he displays his guilt-feelings, the better he will do in class. Last year I examined the case of a young man, let us call him Student X, who attends one of the nation's most prestigious universities. He has felt guilty about practically everything since he was six years old. He feels guilty about the history of slavery in the United States, poverty in India, the decay of the cities, the war in Vietnam, the fact that the Los Angeles Dodgers have not done very well in recent years and, finally, the fact that Eugene Debs was never elected President. This young man is now editor of his campus newspaper, president of the student body and has been in and out of jail eighteen times in the past two years. In short, a campus hero, both in and out of the classroom.

Q. But how do you know that this success is a result of his guilt-feelings? Might it not be the other way around? Might not his guilt-feelings stem from the fact that he is such a success?

A. Of course we investigated that possibility thoroughly. Exhaustive research proves conclusively that it is guilt-feeling which creates success, not the other way around. We have fascinating examples of what might be called super-guilt-feelings which have resulted in astounding classroom performances. A student at Berkeley has, for ten years, felt personally responsible for the lack of transistor radios among the Bantus of South Africa. He has not listened to a radio in all that time as punishment for what he considers his guilt in denying the Bantus the fruits of capitalist exploitation. In a series of tests we measured his classroom performance in light of his increasing guilt-feelings. Since his guilt-feelings increased in a precise ratio we were able to break down these feelings into "bits" of data which were fed into a computer. We found that the more guilty he felt the better he was appreciated by his professors and, naturally, the better his grades became.

Q. Some psychoanalysts say that guilt-feelings are hereditary. Yet you deny this and claim environment makes the difference? How do you account for the difference between the universally held view and your own?

A. Those who say that guilt can be inherited are, of course partially correct. If a child is a product of the union of a liberal mother who marched barefoot in Selma and a radical father who inherited a guilt-producing fortune, that child is of course going to have an advantage over other of his peers which will in later years even multiply his already healthy accumulation of guilt. I do not deny this. What I do deny is the fascist theory that

The above drawing of Karl Marx is the creation of Thomas Nast, the 19th century's most renowned political cartoonist. Working on roller skates while Dr. Marx strolled through the Crystal Palace in June of 1851, Nast perceptively captured the essence of the great man, conveying the relevance of his powerful thought. This is but one of many artful and provocative illustrations appearing in the new book *Thomas Nast's Christmas Drawings for the Human Race*, recently published by Harper and Row.

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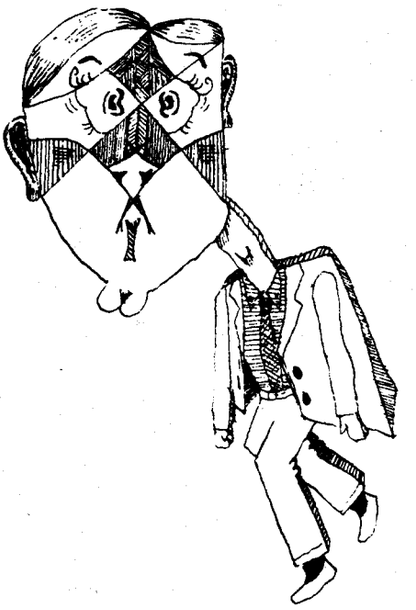
some children are doomed to fail in college political science courses because they simply do not have enough "innate" guilt-feelings. White students can be helped to feel guilty about what happened three hundred years ago in slave-holding Virginia; black students can be helped to feel guilty about not feeling guilty about not hating white students. All students can be helped to build up this guilt-quotient concerning the arms race, pollution and the fact that John Lindsay has not been declared President by unanimous voice vote.

Q. Would more guilt-feelings make our nation psychologically stronger?

A. Once again: ja! There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that the more guilty a nation feels, the stronger it is. Look at the United States. Although it still has far to go in building up what I like to call "a guilt-bank," it has guilt-feelings about poverty both at home and abroad, starvation, pollution, racism, genocide and the War of 1812. If it tries harder and builds up more guilt about its standing army it will become so strong that Russian occupation won't bother it at all.

Q. The Alternative is very proud to be the first serious journal to publish your Guilt-Quotient or GQ Test. Do you have any advice to give those who take this test?

A. Only this: it is a myth that some people have guilt-feelings and some others do not and nothing can be done about it. Guilt is our colleges' most important product. There is more guilt produced in an average faculty dining room than in the entire state of New Mexico. Seek ways to feel guilty about something. Start with simple things like feeling guilty about the fact that the ancient Phoenicians never had the benefit of television because of American imperialism and your personal apathy. Build up to feeling personally guilty for the War of the Roses and the Chicago fire. Then, when you have developed confidence, feel guilty about polluted streams, low wages among apple-pluckers and the breakdown of relations between Uganda and Tanzania. Remember: there is something wrong going on in the world every second of the day. If you don't feel guilty about it, who will?



THE ALTERNATIVE ALL AMERICAN GUILT QUOTIENT TEST

The following questions should be answered by circling the letter next to the word or phrase that you feel best completes the statement. Take your time. Circle one letter for each question. If you feel that more than one answer might be right, circle the one you feel best answers the question and feel guilty about it.

1. American Indians can best be described as:
a. people who appear from time to time in movies with horses.
b. tragic victims of racist oppression.
c. living symbols of the hypocrisy of Christianity.
d. the remnant from which sick white racist imperialist society will be saved.

2. Black Panthers are:
a. heroic fighters against white racist, genocidal, sick oppression.
b. semi-literate hoodlums whose rhetoric is as hollow as their heads.
c. the vanguard of the proletariat through whose courageous acts the dehumanization of American workers will be transformed into a utopian vision of human joy.
d. Baaaaad ass momma jumpers, heavy dudes and studs extraordinary.

3. Japan is:
a. an island nation just east of China.
b. a living reminder of white racist imperialist nuclear-bomb dropping genocide.
c. a dead reminder of capitalist fascist genocide rotten white imperialist hegemony.
d. where all those little yellow guys live.

4. There are poor people in the United States. This means:
a. our sick, vicious, ugly, racist system must go.
b. our sick, vicious, white, racist, imperialist, rotten, cancerous system must go.
c. you should burn yourself in protest, using all paper money in your possession as kindling.
d. there are some people in the United States who have less than other people.

5. Gene McCarthy was denied the Democratic nomination in 1968. This means:
a. the Democrats are maybe smarter than they look.
b. white racist sick degenerate racists were to blame.
c. the rotten, lousy, sick, despicable, awful system has to go.
d. nobody cares.

6. When you hear the word "slavery" what should you do?
a. Flagellate myself with barbed wire because of 400 years of oppression.
b. Roll over and go to sleep.
c. Flagellate myself with barbed wire because of 500 years of oppression.
d. Flagellate myself with rusty barbed wire because of 784 years of oppression.

7. The United States defeated Nazism in Europe. This means:
a. whenever Hollywood produces a World War II movie, the same guys win every time.
b. the most fascist state won.
c. don't tell me any of your war stories buddy.
d. we fire-bombed Dresden didn't we?

8. White working class people are:
a. racist pigs.
b. bigoted running dogs of corporate fascism.
c. racist hyenas.
d. racists.

9. You are at a party and some jerk says "Maybe we are right in Vietnam." You:
a. punch him in the mouth and disembowel yourself.
b. kick him in the groin, tear off your clothes and urinate on the rug.
c. chant Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh and then kill yourself.
d. calmly walk to the center of the room, take out your Zippo lighter and immolate yourself while whistling "The Democratic People's Republic of Vietnam Is Going to Defeat the White Imperialist Aggressors Blues."

10. When you hear the name "Teddy" you:
a. hide your sister in the closet and swallow the keys to the car.
b. proudly display your bear.
c. blush and stammer and get sticky all over.
d. shoot a passing racist imperialist enlisted man.

11. The United States is the richest country in the world. This means:
a. India is nicer.
b. it has happened here.
c. millions of people, perhaps more, are starving.
d. Mao is nicest of all.

12. The United States of America is:
a. the citadel of reactionary, white racist imperialism.
b. the birthplace of Sonny and Cher.
c. the last stronghold of white racism and enzyme detergents.
d. the single most vicious, hated, degenerate, imperialist, rotten, lousy, fascist, colonialist, oppressive, genocidal, unspeakable country in the world and the nation with the most flush toilets per capita on this dirty, foul, globe of woe.

GO BACK AND CHECK YOUR ANSWERS. HAVE YOU CIRCLED ONLY ONE LETTER? GQ ANSWERS WILL BE GIVEN WITH COMMENTS BY DR. GRUENWALD IN THE NEXT ISSUE. □

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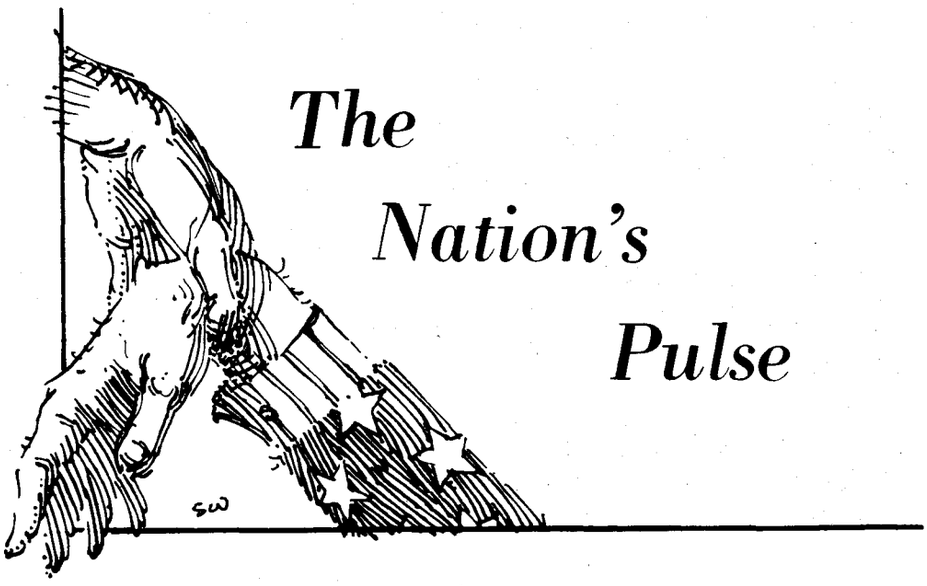

The Nation's Pulse

The Right Time for the "Wrong Kind" of Conservative

Marshall Jay

(WASHINGTON)—The latest news out of Washington touching the pending appointments to the Supreme Court is that the liberals are by-passing Lewis Powell and loading up for William Rehnquist. This strategy of selective indignation will, it is widely predicted, come to nought, but not before the good name of William Rehnquist is dragged through the mud. Indeed, the vicious, open and notorious campaign of character assassination now being directed against Rehnquist is the surest proof one might adduce of the desperation which now hovers like a brooding omnipresence over the liberal camp. The liberal strategy requires not only that Rehnquist be attacked on grounds that do not also apply to Powell — a difficult task inasmuch as their views on almost every issue are virtually indistinguishable; it requires also that the attack appear to be motivated by principle rather than by ideology — an equally difficult task inasmuch as Rehnquist has made it abundantly clear that his allegiance as a Justice will begin and end at the Constitution. So formidable are the obstacles confronting the liberal strategy that merely to describe them is tantamount to admitting their insurmountability.

It must be said that the liberals did not happen upon their strategy wholly by choice. Their original battle-plan, formed in response to the prospect of Richard Poff and, subsequently, in response to the prospect of the "ABA Six," committed them to a position of "balancing" — one seat for the conservatives, one seat for the liberals. Here, it is necessary to do some backtracking and, in turn, to comment on the role played by the *New York Times* within the liberal establishment.

Although it may not be apparent in the outlands, in the East the *New York Times* is Holy Writ. It is First Revelation and Last Gospel and in between, as every schoolboy used to know, is contained a multitude of sins. The *Times* contains everything that any self-respecting liberal needs to know in order to attain terrestrial salvation — which is, since the day when the *Times* obituary page took note of the demise of God, the only kind of salvation one can get these days. The *Times* not only tells the liberals what to think, it tells them how and when to think it. Indeed, the greatest of joys known to the liberal heart is to have arrived more or less independently at an opinion that is subsequently certified by a *Times* editorial as The Word. When, therefore, the *Times* announced in reaction to Poff and the ABA Six that it was not opposing them because they were conservatives but rather because they were the "wrong kind" of conservatives, its rhetorical generosity committed the entire liberal establishment to a position that subsequent events proved to be exceedingly vulnerable. Event Number One was Lewis Powell and Event Number Two was William Rehnquist.

Opposition to Powell was doomed from the outset. His introductory appearance before the Senate Judiciary Committee provides a glimpse of what the liberals were up against. Powell was accompanied by the entire Virginia congressional delegation (two Senators and ten Representatives, including five Democrats), the Attorney General of Virginia, the President of Washington-and-Lee University, a brace of law school deans, four former Presidents of the American Bar Association, and a partridge in a pear tree. (Powell himself had been President of both the ABA and the American College of Trial Lawyers.) To cap it all off, Powell had served for nearly three years as a combat intelligence officer in World War II, receiving the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star and the Croix de Guerre (with Palm). It is not recorded whether a choir of angels actually made an appearance on Powell's behalf, but one seasoned Senator was heard to mumble under his breath, "Hell, he don't wanna be confirmed, he wants to be canonized."

Rehnquist, while perhaps not so formidable on paper, had nonetheless managed to graduate first in his law school class at Stanford (having picked up a Phi Beta Kappa key beforehand), following that with a clerkship for Mr. Justice Robert Jackson. He proved to be even more formidable in person. The liberals on the Judiciary Committee (chiefly Bayh, Kennedy, Tunney and Hart) tried every trick in the book to wrest from Rehnquist some indication of partisan or ideological commitment that would exclude him from sitting on the high court. First they tried to establish that opinions expressed by Rehnquist in his capacity as head of the Office of Legal Counsel were also his personal opinions, seeking to draw him into an ideological debate — to which Rehnquist replied either a) that he would not want to prejudge certain matters on which he may be called to render an opinion as a member of the Court or b) that too detailed an inqury might cause him to violate the sanctity of the attorney-client privilege, which must surely apply no less, he said, to his relationship with the Attorney General and the President than to other lawyers' relationships with private clients.

The liberals then sought to smear him as an extremist, implying (without actually saying so themselves) that he was a member of the John Birch Society — an allegation that Rehnquist categorically denied. They undertook to suggest that he was anti-black, citing his opposition to public accomodations laws in the early sixties and floating rumors that he had interfered with blacks at polling places — to which Rehnquist replied that he had changed his mind with respect to public accomodations laws, now regarding them as both beneficial and constitutional; and, with respect to his alleged harrassment of black voters, he produced affadavits from unimpeachable sources which demonstrated beyond the peradventure of a doubt that the allegations were totally false and very likely malicious. Asked whether he was a "judicial conservative," he stated that he would say what HE thought he was, leaving it to the Committee to decide if that was the same thing as judicial conservatism.

In short, Rehnquist's was a virtuoso performance, one that left the liberals reeling. At one point, Senator Kennedy was so perplexed that he asked the nominee what kinds of questions they ought to be asking — to which Rehnquist replied, naturally, that it was hardly his place to suggest what the Senate ought to be doing. Indeed, even the ordeal-by-slander got to be a little too much for Kennedy, who publicly chastized

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Joseph Rauh, the A-Number-One Blue-Ribbon Fully Certified Liberal of all time, for seeking to create a "poisonous atmosphere." In the end, after the smoke had cleared, the liberal banner was a thing of shreds and patches. Rehnquist was not only unbloodied and unbowed, but virtually untouched.

And now, as the battle switches to the Senate floor, the liberals are hard-pressed. They are stuck with a battle-plan which proved useless in Committee but which cannot now be abandoned without revealing partisan or idological motivation. The prospects are good-to-excellent that *both* Powell and Rehnquist will be confirmed. □

Another Modest Proposal

Johnathan Quick

Almost every thinker on the subject agrees that the greatest problem facing the world today is the population explosion, which is more than apparent now and promises to be an ever increasing difficulty in the future. The predictions are for more wars, famines, social unrest, crime, poverty and the total destruction of the ecology of this planet. Clearly the world must take issue with the problem of overpopulation and do so now before it is too late. All this is accepted and the facts are well documented but still in dispute are the methods of controlling this population growth.

One of the methods for population control that would seem to hold the greatest promise is, of course, birth control. Newer methods, notably the pill and other contraceptive devices, have proven to be quite effective. Many of us would place our faith in them as the hope for the future, but more and more we are hearing that we must do more, namely legalize abortion at the will or whim of any pregnant girl or woman. They argue that contraception takes forethought, a characteristic rather lacking in today's society where one buys now and pays later, indulges tonight and takes headache pills tomorrow. Abortion, they correctly point out is tomorrow's remedy for today's mistakes, and eliminates the need for prudence and self-discipline. They say this is desirable and realistic.

There are, however, obstacles and objections to the dependence of our societies on abortion as the answer to the population explosion. For one, it isn't cheap; even with government sponsored free abortion clinics, the cost per operation and for the proper preoperative and post-operative care would, it is estimated, be at least two hundred dollars. Taxes levied on the self-supporting to care for the indigent would be high indeed. For another thing, abortion is distasteful to the conservative elements of society and it is unlikely that the Catholic Church will ever agree to it. In fact, a great many doctors abhor the idea and will refuse to perform abortions. It is a grisly, messy business at best. Therefore, before all legal restraints be discarded, ought we not to consider all other forms of population control? We should review what other societies in other times have done to curb their population problems.

Let us consider the ancient Greeks who exposed their defective and unwanted infants on the mountain tops. This method certainly had its merits, but in today's world it would have to be rejected without serious consideration. The sanitation officials would never put up with it, and in an ecologically minded world such littering of the countryside would be intolerable. Besides there are no convenient mountains near our great population centers such as New York, Chicago and Houston.

In the past, India always maintained a controllable population. Whenever things began to get out of hand they would manage to have a great cholera epidemic or similar catastrophe. The poor and unwanted generally got the worst of it, thus eliminating much hunger and poverty. We must regretfully dismiss this method too; the American Medical Association would be against it and would successfully oppose it with their powerful lobby in Washington.

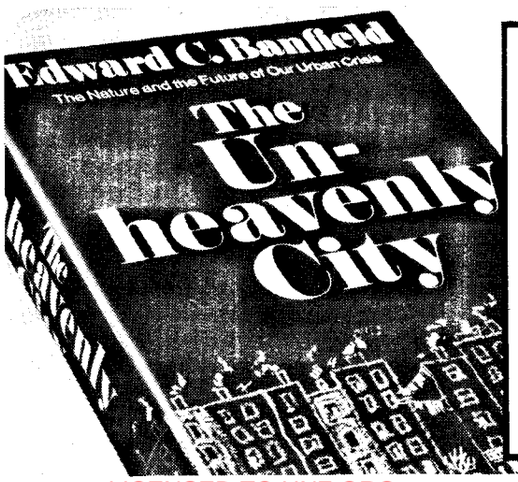
The Chinese used to have splendid epidemics too, but they also worked out a convenient plan that could be applied on an individual family basis according to need. They sold their daughters into slavery, at once providing for their offsprings' futures while relieving the economic problem at home. This plan is so appealing to some of today's parents that it should get some prompt attention in Congress. However, Senator Walter Stitch has already warned me that it would likely be opposed by the Women's Liberation movement. It does seem a shame.

Many societies of the past, most notably the Romans, kept population growth in line by the expedience of frequent wars. This became less effective, however, when in later years most of the fighting was done by the foreign mercenaries and allies. As a result, the population of Rome increased to unmanageable proportions, and you know what happened to Rome. Furthermore, war today has lost its general appeal and color. We no longer charge into battle on horses with banners flying, and seldom have the opportunities of directly hacking down our enemies with battle axes. The satisfaction is all gone. And I am afraid that this ancient and honorable method of population control would be effectively blocked by our vocal pacifistic organizations.

Some of the less well known civilizations of the past have even tried chastity and continence as a means to prevent unwanted children. I mention them only for the sake of historical completeness; such old-fashioned ideas would be laughed at by our sophisticated leaders today.

There is one ancient custom, however, which to my knowledge has not been discussed by any of our sociologists, theologians or welfare experts, and before abandoning our search for a better way, we should look into it. It is the method discovered and practiced by an eminently successful civilization which lived and prospered for fifteen hundred years, a lot longer than the Romasn. These people, the Phoenicians, solved the problem by sacrificing all of their first-born children to their deity, Moloch. I humbly propose that we consider their remarkable example.

Before dismissing this proposal out of hand, let us analyze its benefits. First, the method is democratic. The rich, as well as the poor, would make their contribution to the well-being of scoeity; the alternative of abortion would fall more heavily upon the poor or disadvantaged. Secondly, sacrificing the first-born would largely solve the problems of the pregnant unmarried girl; there would be no question about adoption, and no difficulty about a forced marriage to give the child a name. Thirdly, the plan would enable young married couples to get off to a better start in life. With the first baby out of the way, the mother could work. In or out of wedlock, young people could indulge themselves sexually with all the freedom that is encouraged and



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What Makes Scoop Jackson Run?

P.S. Burton

The following article commenting on the emergence of Senator Henry Jackson as a Democratic candidate for the Presidency was written by P.S. Burton, a political science student from New York City. Mr. Burton is what in days of yore was called a Liberal.

If one year ago some political observer was to suggest that there would be a contender for the 1972 Democratic Presidential nomination who had supported the SST, had fought for an anti-ballastic missile system, had advocated a strong worldwide military position by the U.S., had staunchly supported Israel and who had once been offered the positions of Secretary of Defense and Secretary of State by President Nixon, you might conclude that this observer had taken to strong drink or worse. But such a contender does exist and on 19 November he declared his candidacy. To make things even more interesting, that contender is at the same time a civil rights and conservation advocate and an admired friend of organized labor. Henry (Scoop) Jackson, the Senator from Washington, is in the running, and he is running hard. While all the other Democratic hopefuls are carving up but one side of the pie — the dovish side — Jackson is attempting to reach that larger constituency of regular old-time New Deal Democrats, labor people, and he's being very successful.

What has made his recent popularity so significant? Just a few months ago he was the darkest of the dark horses. Why is it that Scoop Jackson has attracted so much attention, given the relative obscurity of his name? It was only a few months ago that the mention of his name would evoke snide remarks and insipid jokes among chic liberal circles. (It is hard to imagine a President named Scoop' " quipped a popular *New York Times* columnist.) Today the tables are turned.

Richard J. Whalen, a former Nixon speechwriter, has called Jackson the "very model of what the party's Presidential nominees traditionally have been. He is a champion of continuity, who takes his foreign policy from John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, his domestic policy from Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and his fundamental stance *vis-a-vis* the electorate from the New-Fair Deal tradition of speaking to and for the common man."

At a time when certain affluent spokesmen of the Democratic Party seem to act as the apologists for permissiveness and chaos, and are advocating a foreign policy as if American decisions operated in a vacuum, Jackson's views seem out of place. Or are they? The disenchantment of Democratic voters with the New Left-New Politics crowd is evident from recent elections. Where there are no Democratic candidates concerned with the economy and law and order, where there are no Democratic candidates willing to speak against the excesses of the "radical" students and against suicidal foreign policy formulations, Democratic voters are casting votes to demogogic, penny-pinching candidates, who at least *appear* to have their interests at heart. In many cases I am talking about traditional Democratic voters who have never crossed party lines, yet they now feel they have to rebel. Jackson is the type of Democrat they would rather vote for, were he available. He speaks to their real, every day concerns with a candidness which is rare in today's politics.

On many questions the roots of the problems go back to the development of America's response to totalitarianism. The widely held American opposition to totalitarianism, after the Second World War, seems to have drawn from divergent economic and social groups. (Note for example the popularity of such books as *1984* and *Animal Farm.*) There was near universal agreement on the illigitimacy of totalitarianism. In that short period our country witnessed the labor movement ridding itself of those who would place the interests of the Soviet Union above the interests of its own members, the Progressive Party campaign becoming identified with the pro-Communist cause and falling into complete and utter defeat, and small but effective liberal anti-Communist groups asserting themselves. On the international scene, the United States met the challenge of expanding Communist power and became the protector of the non-Communist world. The McCarthy period and the spinelessness of intellectuals in the face of it notwithstanding, liberal anti-Communism was the inheritance which the Democratic Party brought to the White House when JFK took office.

It was Kennedy who said, "...let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival of liberty." If the words sound strange, it is just another indication of the erosion of liberal anti-Communist views today.

Because the American people have in the past shown their willingness to take the risks of confronting totalitarian might with out own military power, the Communists have been forced to seek other means to weaken our defense and deprive free men of their liberty. Thus the Soviet Union seeks to project itself, its own realm of ideas into the problems and conflicts of the West — into our politics — with the aim of weakening our ability to resist their military advances.

We can see how the adoption of totalitarian concepts by the New Left and anti-war movements has brought on far-reaching and catastrophic results. Witness one simple example: the acceptance of the "legitimacy" of a Vietcong victory in Vietnam. Indeed, the infection has been spreading from the "peace movement" to the general citizenry at a galloping pace.

While the war in Vietnam against Communist aggression is grinding to an end, it is still very much a war in the United States. The issue has not been resolved *here*. While some form of democracy is being practiced in Vietnam — local elections are held regularly, a land reform program has been instituted, there exists a free labor movement (the CVT, some 500,000 strong and independent of the government) — the anti-war movement will not be satisfied until it has beaten out of the U.S. a defeat in Vietnam. There is no wide support for U.S.-China detente in order to make peace in Southeast Asia a possibility. There is no discussion on Southeast Asian recovery (for instance a Marshall Plan for Southeast Asia). No compromise, just defeat, capitulation, now.

The anti-war and New Left sentiments have filtered through large sectors of the upper classes and among many of their representatives within the Democratic Party. Many forces around Jackson see this development in domestic and international affairs as a major area of concern.

Jackson has laced into the absolute radical fringe who seek to steal the Democratic Party from the people. In a speech given last May in San Diego he said that although none of the Democratic Party's leaders were in the radical fringe, "... it is quite clear that some run the risk of marching to its drums. They are having trouble hearing the voice of the people because the noise from the absolute left is so loud. I'm afraid that by wooing this faction, by apologizing for it, by excusing it and glorifying it, the Democratic Party can be dragged down to defeat."

While the effects of the anti-war and New Left movements have been designed to discredit anti-Communism as a tent of American foreign policy, it has not been wholly successful. While it has helped generate a "counter

Great American Series

A cabby looks at Lindsay

Lindsay ain't worth a damn. Personally, he's ruined this city. What kind of President do you think he'd make?

Bill Inch

Another cabbie looks at Lindsay

Worst bum we ever had. Very bad mayor. Nothin' is workin.' All we got is more and more taxes. You tell him I said so.

Ben Beitelbaum

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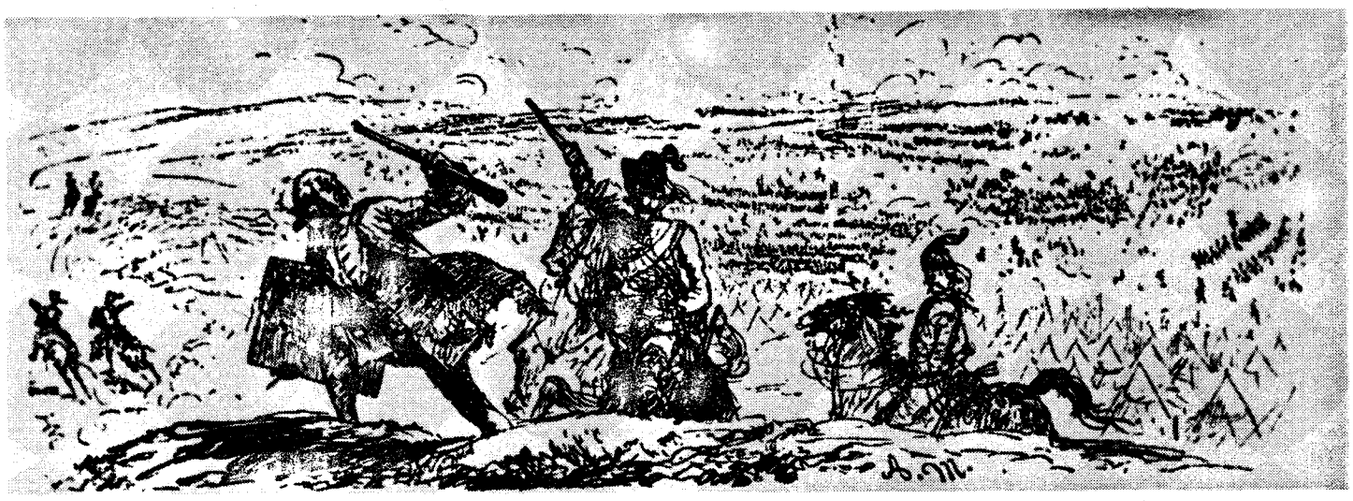

culture" of juvenile excesses, normlessness, decadence and pacifism, it has not infected all sectors of the society.

Henry Jackson is appealing to those who have had the good sense to resist these efforts within the Democratic Party. Old-style Democrats who learned their lessons under Truman, a smattering of intellectuals who have not prostituted themselves in the brothel of cheap anti-Americanism and the *New York Review of Books* and Party regulars who are finally reacting to what appears to be the social snobishness of sectors of the Party, are among those who are beginning to reassert themselves within the Democratic Party and the country once again. The American working class appears to be the major force in this recapturing and redefining of what the Democratic Party ought to be.

It is no accident that it is becoming clear to many that the American working class is the clearest proponent of sane domestic policy and the backbone of opposition to Communism today. The labor movement most clearly since the period of the European recovery following the Second World War, has carried on a policy of international involvement. Basically interested as a union movement with the existence of free and operating labor movements in other countries, they defend the continuation of open societies against ultra-rightist and pro-Communist assault. In short, their international policy is irrevocably linked with their domestic policy dedicated to social mobility.

Clearly, business' opposition to Communism is on shaky grounds today. Big capital is eager to sell practically anything to the Eastern bloc and juggle production, distribution, shipping and sales across national borders, like a sovereign nation, with no responsibilities to any government. The growth of overseas subsidiaries shows that the conditions of international investment are dictated by private investment, which knows and respects no flag except the dollar sign. This adds up to our present government giving unparalleled opportunities and incentives to fatten private profit at the expense of the workers and housewives and consumers of America. How can one claim to defend this country and speak for this country while at the same time carrying on policies which only depress America's living and technological standards?

But some sections of the business community are very friendly to Jackson. Particularly excited about him are those enlightened business men who know that although Jackson is one of the most active environmentalists in Congress, he has never succumbed to the trap of sacrificing economic growth to achieve environmental progress. He argues that you can have both, with an improved technology.

There, Scoop Jackson's candidacy seems tailor-fit for many Americans both in and out of the labor movement, who seek relief both from the radical chic sections of the Democratic Party and from Mr. Nixon's mis-management of the economy. By examining Jackson's nineteen year record in the Senate, and his steadfast consistency on the issues, they know where he stands. People who are fed up with recent nonsense in the Democratic Party, and large sections of the labor movement see Jackson's concerns as totally congruent to their own. He's tough on Nixon, tough on the New Politics chic and tough on the Communists.

I think that many of these regular Democrats and labor people have *made* Henry Jackson the candidate. He didn't use his own "will power" or "charisma" to propel himself into the race. In fact, Scoop is the epitome of the counter "counter culture." His hair is short — no sideburns. His suits are plain, and he insists on cuffs. He drives a '61 Chevy that once belonged to his mother-in-law. He carries his own luggage when traveling. Unlike Senator Bayh, McGovern, *et al*, his daughter is *bussed* to a *public* school in Washington, D.C. and he is *not* Lincolnesque," supposedly an essential ingredient for candidates this season. Many traditional Democrats and large segments of the labor movement have called upon Jackson to be a standard-bearer for their struggle within the Democratic Party. They prefer ability and effectiveness over the recent politics of style."

Senator Jackson possesses some unique qualifications. Jackson won his first election at age 26 by winning the post of county prosecutor. Two years later, in 1940, he began his career in Congress with his first election to the House of Representatives. Jackson served six terms there before winning a senate seat in 1952. He won wide respect for his conscientiousness and for his courage in being an outspoken liberal in the none-too-liberal 1950s. Robert Kennedy recognized these traits and urged his brother to choose Jackson for the Vice Presidency in 1960. When JFK became convinced that the one post had to go to a southerner, he named Jackson Democratic National Chairman instead. Jackson's expertise in a wide range of fields is well known throughout the halls of congress. He is considered the leading conservationist in the Senate, having authored nearly every piece of important environmental legislation in recent years. He is, in fact, the only member of congress ever to receive the John Muir Award from the Sierra Club. Senator Jackson has published four books on national security and is regarded as the Senate's leading expert on the Middle East. Jackson's popularity is not universal though as he would be the first to admit. He takes particular pride for having won the scorn of "both McCarthy's" — Joe and Gene. Joe felt Jackson was too soft on communism while Gene thought he was too hard. But Scoop Jackson's career as a common sense liberal proved to be popular enough in 1970 as an incredible 83.9 per cent of Washington's voters chose him as heir senator for the fourth time.

On domestic questions Scoop Jackson's record is as liberal, if not more liberal, than any of the leading "peace" Democrats. He opposed the creation of HUAC in the 1940s, an unpopular position at he time. He took on the late Senator Joe McCarthy, when everyone else kept quiet during the Army hearings in 1953. He has fought the John Birch Society and he has never been accused by liberals of being on the wrong side on a civil rights vote. But Jackson has been defined by the advance "peace" forces as a "conservative." This is, mind you, a man who has voted for every liberal domestic reform in three decades — but has also rejected the cut-and-run philosophy in Vietnam. The only credential a man needs to certify his "liberalism" is a reputation for participating against a strong defense posture. According to the new defini-

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tion of "liberalism" a man can spend three decades voting against practically every social domestic reform, beginning with civil rights and remain an impeccable "liberal." Consider the record of Senator Fulbright.

Many Democrats who have sat out politics during the past few years are backlashing with a progressive alternative to anti-anti-Communist "liberalism", pro segregationist "liberalism", anti-labor "liberalism", anti-semitic "liberalism" and a "liberalism" which has developed an identification with the deterioration of America as a world power. (The perplexing problem of "liberal" or "conservative" as accurate political labels in this period of political topsy-turvy, is reflected in recent polls. Recently the ranks of the "undecided" or "independent" voters has greatly increased, not out of political conviction but more out of utter confusion.)

While Jackson will probably not be able to boast the kind of "kiddie-crops" that Eugene McCarthy had the last time around, a number of very sober and articulate young people are gathering around his effort. Keep your eye on Scoop Jackson. While McGovern, McCarthy, Lindsay *et al* build castles in the sky, Jackson is building the kind of operation with the kind of forces around him that could very well bring him to the White House in 1972. □

Cops In Your Goo

Natural Foods vs. The Synthetic A Priori

Gary North

Anyone who has devoted even a few years of his life to an investigation of the improvements in personal well-being that are possible through a conscientious program of nutrition inevitably confronts a stone wall of opposition to his findings. This must be one of the most frustrating of life's experiences to professional investigators in the field, but it is more than a little annoying for those of us who have profited personally as laymen from dietary supplements and selective purchasing of food. Anyone who believes he has discovered some truth that might benefit his fellow men runs the risk of experiencing the traditional role of the prophet: he is unrecognized in his own land. No one enjoys being labeled a quack — not even quacks.

What I intend to explore here is the phenomenon of resistance from established intellectual or professional organizations (to new ideas). A whole field is organized around this very problem; it is loosely named "the sociology of knowledge." Whether you know it or not, you are a part of this field of investigation, for there are few other areas of life that are so thoroughly organized for resistance to new ideas as the medical profession. Anyone even remotely connected with diet therapy is grist for the Establishment's intellectual mill. It deserves a full-length study.

In 1962 Thomas Kuhn, a professional physicist and historian of science, produced one of the most important books of the decade, "*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press). It has hit the academic world like a bombshell, or better yet, like a ticking time bomb that is about to go off at any moment. (It is fitting that Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* appeared in that same year; her ideas exploded in the environmental revolution of 1969.) What Dr. Kuhn did in his book was to trace the history of major scientific breakthroughs in the last 350 years, and he described them as just that, breakthroughs. They required enormous courage, enormous dedication and enormous patience by the geniuses who accomplished the various feats. They were, universally, met with hysterical resistance from the organized intellectual guilds.

Kuhn then offers a hypothesis concerning the progress of science. He distinguishes revolutionary science from what he calls "normal science." Normal science is that conducted by the overwhelming majority of scientists and social thinkers: the careful, painstaking research done along established lines and making only minor contributions to an already accepted body of opinion. In short, we are not all geniuses, even those of us (I am tempted to say especially those of us) with a string of academic degrees after our names.

Schools, institutes, professional associations and other well financed and staffed structures generally conduct normal science. Then who makes the big breakthrough? Kuhn thinks that generally two types of researchers do: the man on the fringe of an academic "guild" and the man outside it altogether. One is a maverick; the other is an invader. Both are "unrespectable." And if the time is ripe, either can produce a scientific or intellectual revolution.

What, then, makes the time "ripe"? Any number of things, but most important is the fact that the questions being asked by the "guild," the procedures used to investigate the narrow questions and the results produced by the techniques of investigation no longer conform to the reality of the world. Some new problem, regarded by the younger men especially as *the* crucial issue, does not lend itself to the prevailing "paradigm" of science, as Kuhn calls it. "Paradigm" is simply another word for "climate of opinion" or operating methodology of normal science. And then one bright soul produces a new paradigm. He asks new questions, he looks at the universe in a new way — equally narrow, equally limited, you understand, for that is the way of all science — and the entire frame of reference shifts. The classic example, of course, is Galileo's hypothesis that the earth revolves about the sun, and not vice versa. He was hounded into recanting his belief, but the revolution — both intellectual and astronomical — was accomplished.

Why should we refer to an academic establishment as a guild? The medieval guild was an organization of craftsmen or scholars, teachers or preachers, but generally men connected with the sale of some service or product. They banded together to artificially restrict production, thus keeping up prices of the objects produced. It meant that some potential producers were kept out of the market. There were some beneficial aspects of the guilds, however: they tried to keep the quality of their production at a reasonably high level (not too high, since that might give one member of the guild a sales advantage). They policed their ranks, keeping trade honest. They protected their own. Most of all, they protected their own. And that, whether we like it or not, is what lawyers do today, and labor union members do, and professors with academic degrees do, and civil service people do, and above all what the American Medical Association does. They protect their own.

There is no guild which can boast that it has had no Galileo. The astronomers' latest candidate is Immanuel Velikovsky, whose books were suppressed by the guild (yes, I'm afraid some of the leaders taught at Harvard). The story can be found in a book by the distinguished social scientists, Dr. Alfred de Grazia, *The Velikovsky Affair* (University Books, 1966. The economists had a man named Gossen back in the 1850s whose views broke though a few decades later. In history we have them all the time; they are usually called revisionists, since they want to revise some accepted historical explanation. But the medical profession can lay claim to having had more unsuccessful attempts at intellectual suppression than any other guild. From smallpox inoculation to Pasteur, medical experts dragged their feet and used every possible way to ridicule the opposition. Doctors stopped bleeding as a cure less than two centuries ago; George Washington succumbed under such treatment in 1799.

Two of the most prominent recent victims of the medical guild are the late Dr. Max Gerson and Dr. Andrew C. Ivy. Ivy's case is better known: his publicity was better and his position in the academic world of medicine impeccable. Krebiozen, the promising drug used in the treatment of cancer, proved his downfall. Anyone who wants a look at how the medical establishment can turn on one of its own members should look at Herbert Baily's book, *A Matter of Life and Death* (McFadden, 1964). Even a man well inside the guild must go about his business quietly, giving his fellow doctors the opportunity to accept or reject his findings at their own speed. Any premature announcement that might call attention to their

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inefficiency in exploring some medical avenue will be met with unrelenting hostility, a hostility that grows as the defender adds more convincing proof of his case.

The case of Dr. Gerson is less well known. In the 1920s, this young German doctor discovered that the incurable disease of skin tuberculosis — lupus — could be cured rapidly through the use of a saltless, high potassium diet that emphasized the consumption of larger quantities of fresh, raw juices (if the juices were pressed rather than produced through a centrifugal juicer). More than this: in the 1940s he found that this same diet could produce significant results in terminal cancer patients — the only kind he ever got to see, as it turned out. The treatment is described in his book, *A Cancer Therapy* (Dura Books, 1958), a small publisher which was well off the beaten path as far as prestige publishing firms are concerned. That is what non-guild mavericks are forced to resort to. The story of his persecution is described by the journalist, S.J. Haught, in *Has Dr. Max Gerson a True Cancer Cure?* (London Books, 1962).

Dr. Gerson made the mistake of appearing on Long John Nebel's all night radio show in New York. Long John features six-hour marathon talks with intelligent, fascinating mavericks, some of whom may well be cranks, all of whom are interesting Dr. Gerson only discussed some of his most phenomenal cases. Shortly thereafter he was suspended by his medical association. His articles defending his position were rejected by the medical journals (which had previously published his material). And all inquiring outsiders were warned that he was suspended and that he never bothered to publish his findings. The proof? Well, you can't find his articles in reputable journals any more! He died in 1959. He never got his recognition from the guild. He had to be content with the undying affection of his patients, one of whom was Mrs. Albert Schweitzer, whose incurable lung tuberculosis was cured. Dr. Schweitzer referred to him as "a medical genius who has walked among us." Not so the American Medical Association.

Dr. Gerson had committed another sin. He argued until the day he died (at age 77) that the chief cause of cancer is a defect in the body's ability to resist cancer growth, precisely what Drs. Durovic and Ivy had concluded. But Gerson went beyond this. He attributed this lack of resistance to the failure of the liver to produce the means of defense. And the cause of this failure? The production of food on exhausted soils through the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, coupled with overprocessing of the food so produced: here was an answer to earn him the wrath of organized medicine! For such an answer is in open violation of one of the most cherished foundations of contemporary medicine, namely, that "a carrot is a carrot, no matter what soil it's grown in." In short, that diet is only a small part of treatment; that treatment should be aimed at removing specific symptoms; and that dietary cures are the products of the diseased imaginations of health faddists and medical quacks. Challenge the paradigm of an intellectual guild, and you challenge the life work of all those involved. You can expect trouble.

Mr. Haught tried to explain the opposition to Dr. Gerson in terms of the economic benefits to those involved in cancer research. "Why the outcry? Because even then (in 1928, when he announced his cure for lupus) it was more profitable to look for a cure than to find one." Possibly, but this misses the point. The same argument could be used against policemen: they need criminals to keep their jobs. No, the real reason is far deeper, and far more difficult to deal with. If only economics were involved, a few pay-offs would do the trick. What is really involved is something analogous to religious faith. Medical scientists will welcome advances that are made in terms of the prevailing presuppositions of established medical science; but no advance will be regarded as an advance if it is made outside channels or outside the prevailing framework of the guild's reigning hypotheses.

Men build their lives in terms of some outlook toward the world. The more scientific a man is, the more narrow his outlook, at least in so far as his work is concerned. What men should regard, as scientists, as merely an intellectual framework, they begin to accept as reality. They have sunk their lives into this interpretation of reality. They are unlikely to change, especially if they have made measurable gains — financial, professional, intellectual and people sent out of the hospital— in terms of it. What is true for medicine is true for all branches of science. Anyone who doubts it ought to read Ralph Lapp's *The New Priesthood: The Scientific Elite and the Uses of Power* (Harper & Row, 1965), or R.J. Rushdoony's *The Mythology of Science* (Craig Press, 1967).

What gives the AMA such overwhelming power? One thing is the fear of today's men of pain; doctors can relieve pain. even when the root causes remain. Second, doctors possess one of the most important weapons available to any guild in the country: the AMA is granted the right to license doctors, a right granted to the AMA by state legislatures. It is a true monopoly of supply and groups like the Kaiser clinics have fought long and hard against it. We pay a price for the assurance that our doctor is not a quack; we grant his guild a monopoly. The economic effects of this unique monopoly were described over a decade ago by Prof. Reuben Kessel of the University of Chicago's department of economics. For those with a strong stomach, I recommend his article, "Price Discrimination in Medicine," in *The Journal of Law and Economics* (October 1958). I hope things are better today. I somehow doubt it. When I see what has happened to Krebiozen and the Gerson diet, I doubt it.

Nevertheless, certain facts must be borne in mind. There *are* charlatans in medicine, or pseudo-medicine. They can kill through false cures. (Analogously, we don't want quack architects building our bridges.) Some licensing is necessary, but care must be taken to avoid giving monopolistic grants to any *one branch* of a discipline. Also, there are fraudulent ideas aplenty in the health food field. While it is the establishment doctor's weakness to ignore fruitful avenues of treatment in nutrition, it is the weakness of the layman nutritionist to become a faddist. Each has his weaknesses. No man can point the finger solely at his enemy. It is just that the AMA has more than a finger to point: it has power.

Change, however, is in the wind. The crisis in health care, which in large part is due to the government's own policies, is bringing the AMA monopoly into disrepute. If the government decides to solve the crisis by breaking the AMA's licensing monopoly instead of building a newer, socialist medical guild, there is hope. There is also hope in some aspects of the "ecological revolution." Young men, some of whom may become doctors, will see and are seeing the effects of pesticides on our food and bodies. Perhaps in the 1980s men will abandon their hopes in chemical salvation, whether establishment (DDT) or revolutionary (LSD). But to do this a true revolution will be necessary — a scientific revolution in agriculture coupled with a spiritual revolution among the young. If it does not occur, we will see our future polluted.

In the last analysis, the answer is not to abandon guilds altogether, as some of our more enthusiastic nihilists are demanding. We need intellectual and professional guilds. They do serve useful purposes. No man can know everything; consequently, we need an intellectual division of labor. Inevitably, this demands the formations of guilds of like-minded thinkers. What is necessary for continual innovation is a commitment on the part of the various levels of government to avoid the outright subsidies that are presently being provided to certain self-appointed experts who claim to represent all those qualified to speak on a particular subject. Guilds are necessary; but they must be kept competitive; grant a monopoly to any one, and the arrogance of power will combine with the inescapable narrowness of scientific vision — a narrowness that is the concomitant of specialization — to create a kind of thought control. Guilds must impose some sort of discipline on their members. They create a framework of reference that makes scientific communication possible. But no guild has all the answers; grant one monopolistic power over schools and public com-

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munications, and members of the favored guild will be tempted to impose some form of enforced orthodoxy that will stifle the broad advance in *all* fronts that is necessary for the flourishing of a free society.

Ultimately, men need faith to function. They need confidence in their theories, even in the face of recalcitrant facts that do not seem to fit those theories at first. Without this kind of faith, life is impossible. Dr. Durovic needed such a personal commitment in his search for a cancer treatment, even as his AMA counterparts need theirs to deny Krebiozen's effectiveness. As Baily writes of Durovic's early experiments: "Most of the time he failed to extract anything. He blamed his methods, his choice of substances; he blamed everything except his theory. That he knew, with the intuition of a great scientist, was correct." Precisely; research based on one's faith in an intuition is the very foundation of an advancing science. Without it, there is neither scientific breakthrough nor "normal" science. But men should be aware of this when they begin to study and when they make their pronouncements on what is or is not possible. If they fail to grasp the nature of the commitment based on faith that is necessarily involved in all scientific endeavor, they will fall into a very unscientific hypocrisy. That has been the weakness of organized medicine for the whole of its history. It is the hypocrisy of those who claim to speak for "respectable" medical research that is so galling — the hypocrisy, the arrogance and the sheer monopolistic power.

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Agnew The Unexamined Man: A Political Profile

by Robert Marsh
M. Evans and Company, Inc., $5.95

There can be no doubt but that this book was intended for a specific constituency. Those people who thrive on *Nixon Agonistes* will gobble up this addition to the anti-Administration literature. In this biographical study of Agnew's political career, Marsh portrays the Vice President as a convictionless politician, an authoritarian personality, a thin-skinned man with a "hyper-reactive ego defense mechanism which was and is always maintained in hair trigger readiness," and if not unintelligent at least a political incompetent who rose to power in spite of his faults (his upward mobility, writes Marsh, was the "Peter Principle in reverse").

Marsh's study of Agnew's rise to power cannot be considered in any way a convincing examination of Agnew the man. Marsh's point of view, his assertions, his conclusions are all too jaundiced to be taken without great skepticism. Marsh's own political career, it is important to point out, was at one time tied closely to that of Agnew's. Therefore, there is much peevish criticism of Agnew here that looks too much like what would be expected from a disgruntled political opportunist whose own star fell when Agnew's was rising.

To understand why this book and its point of view must be approached skeptically, it is necessary to look at the unexamined Marsh. The dust jacket tells us that Marsh left Agnew's state administration in 1968 to become a public affairs consultant. What the capsule vita neglects to mention is the fact that Marsh became a Republican candidate in the primary for the Maryland Sixth District Congressional seat. His primary opponent in that contest was J. Glenn Beall, Jr., now the junior Senator from Maryland.

During the election, Marsh assured me, and others as well I suppose, that he was "more conservative" than Beall. Indeed, his opposition to gun control legislation (which would have been popular in rural western Maryland), his support of Nixon's candidacy and positions on foreign and domestic issues were all designed to gain support from conservative voters in western Maryland. However, Marsh the author takes a different position. The author of this book takes the stance of an extreme civil libertarian and finds reason to side with New Left students and black militants.

Furthermore, he chides Agnew for not being more "progressive" while he was County Executive of Baltimore County and Governor of Maryland. As for Marsh's observation that Agnew is an insensitive man incapable of empathy for others, especially the poor and disadvantaged, Marsh once remarked solemnly to me that voters were "cattle to be herded" by the successful candidate. Such remarks as these do not jive with the thinking of the author of this book who criticizes others for being coldhearted. Marsh's tergiversations in a period of only two years cannot be understood unless Marsh is a "political eunuch," or a man without enduring political convictions — his accusations against Agnew.

Marsh's showing on election day in September 1968 was microscopic. He came in last in a long list of candidates who were vying for the Congressional seat. After that, Marsh ceased to be in his public consultant's office for callers — especially if those callers where calling to collect his campaign debts.

As we reflect further on the fact that as an aide Marsh helped lift Agnew to power, we become more skeptical of Marsh's seriousness in this book. If Agnew was such a louse during those years while County Executive and Governor, and it was obvious that he was an incompetent all along, why did Marsh spend years contributing to his political stardom? Why did it take so long for Marsh to see the obvious evidence of Agnew's faults? Is Marsh a slow learner or has he some special reason for fault-finding now?

At the close of this book, the reader still feels that Agnew is an unexamined man. Much more must be done to understand the Agnew phenomenon in American politics, and it must be done by authors less prejudiced by their personal experiences and failures. Such books as Mr. Marsh's no more serve the cause of thoughtful, objective scholarship than those books written by campaign aides to ballyhoo the assets of their candidates.

W. Wesley McDonald

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The Legacy Of A Superfluous Man

Wick Allison

One afternoon not long ago I was sitting in the living room of a spacious old apartment near the Ala Wai Canal in the Waikiki section of Honolulu. The apartment had been built in a time when the demand for rental space had not transformed every inch of ground into stacks of cubicles designed to be inhabited only by moles and modern men. It had large windows, turn-of-the-century-style, which filled the room with light and admitted the breeze of island trade winds. This kind of architecturally planned expansiveness has largely disappeared, and I was not only pleased that the structure had defied the promoters and their bulldozers for so long, but struck by an uncertain nostalgia for the world it represented.

I had felt the same nostalgia before, for I had recently arrived in the Islands after spending several dreary months in Texas, Lousiana and Georgia, courtesy of the United States Army. The South is my home and I love it, but I left it with an uneasy feeling. For decades it lay dormant, a neglected and still genteel cousin to the barbarian North, harboring its own customs and conventions and dark, whispered secrets. Now every where in the South the talk is of money, how to get it and how to make it grow. Willie Morris, the

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deposed *Harper's* editor, was right in saying that Atlanta and Dallas "reek with the smell of Yankee dollars."

It is the same with Honolulu. Once this city must have been one of the world's most beautiful spots. Today it is a land of glittering neon lights, multi-storied skyscrapers, bewildering traffic patterns and over-priced meals. Perhaps modern Hawaii is best expressed in a symbol: a new Holiday Inn rising from Waikiki, partially blocking the once majestic view of Diamond Head from the beach. Paradise has become real estate.

The facts are clear. We are faced with the prospect of seeing Atlanta and Honolulu levelled to the same dull mediocrity of a Cleveland and an Indianapolis as the nation continues to pay homage to that fatal euphemism: progress.

I know. You've heard it all before. Although the environmental return-to-nature fad has begun to decline (poor fads, they come and go with such frequency these days), its residual effect has been to make us believe we are a generation free of the outdated Chamber of Commerce think-big morality. Our collective naivete is touching. Sure commercialism stinks. But money, dear money, retains the fragrance of sweet perfume. If there has been a major transformation in human nature in the last few years, it has taken place so subtly that I have failed to notice it.

Skepticism requires companionship; the optimist, the guy with the go-getter mentality, can and often does exist in a vacuum. It was the need for a friend's solace on that winsome Hawaiian afternoon that made me rise from the overstuffed couch in the living room and shuffle upstairs. I began rumaging through a bookcase overflowing with gray tomes and bright book-of-the-month club offerings, and there, sandwiched between John Updike's latest attempt at a novel and a long-forgotten history, I found Albert Jay Nock's *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man*. The Book was old, scarred and dusty, as befits one published in 1943, and generously dog-eared and underlined, as befits one read and re-read by three generations of seekers.

Nock is a compelling writer. I started with a passage or two, went on to a chapter, and ended by reading the whole book. His style is delightful; he arranges words with the precision of a drill sergeant marshalling a parade. He views the human scene with the wonderment and disdain of an Olympian. He gives credence and coherence to vague feelings, order to chaotic impressions. He explains it all.

Nock described himself as a superfluous man in all seriousness, although the perceptive reader is bound to feel that he had his tongue firmly in cheek. He felt he was superfluous because he knew he was superior. He was in every way a gentleman of the Old Order — talented, cultivated, educated and civilized. As an essayist he was the finest American prose writer of the earlier Twentieth century. As an editor he produced a publication widely regarded as the best American magazine in content and style, the original *Freeman*. As a scholar he wrote *Jefferson*, the most intimate and satisfying personal portrait of our early American deity. He was a man of excellence, and he did not like it here.

Nock's rejection of America was more a resignation to the inevitable than a self-conscious rebellion. In his younger years he had been in the forefront of the progressive movement, pressing the causes of reform. He had been a man very much in tune with his times, riding the waves which crested in the New Deal. But Nock was not the sort of man to be swept by a momentary enthusiasm; his critical faculties improved with experience. Soon he was able to discern a shift in the direction of liberalism, one which was pulling it away from its old values to an unsettling preoccupation with theoretical absurdities; worse, its partisans were actually beginning to put those absurdities into practice. By the time the New Deal arrived Nock had gradually disassociated himself from the liberal movement. His hero was Jefferson, and Roosevelt was a poor substitute. His model of the politician was Burke; the national spotlight seemed to focus on an altogether different type. By the end of the 1930s he found himself being called a conservative, to his own surprise. He accepted the epithet, but he maintained his earlier claim to the title of radical. He saw no contradiction in the terms: "The antithesis of *radical* is *superficial*." Perhaps the true Conservative is the only man concerned about going to the root of things, the only man concerned about seeing things as they really are, the only man with the courage to be truly radical.

In 1941 Nock retired to write the *Memoirs*, his greatest and most lasting achievement. The book is not autobiography in the usual sense. It is reminiscent of the *Education of Henry Adams*, although devoid of the minutiae which clutter that remarkable history and free of the gloominess which pervades it. In fact, the reader interested in Nock has to look elsewhere for the details of his life. Nock described the purpose of his non-autobiographical autobiography in the preface to the first edition: "... every person of intellectual quality develops some sort of philosophy of existence; he acquires certain settled views of life and of human society; and if he would trace out the origin and course of the ideas contributing to that philosophy, he might find it an interesting venture. It is certainly true that whatever a man may do or say, the most significant thing about him is what he thinks; and significant also is how he came to think it, why he continued to think it, or, if he did not continue, what were the influences which caused him to change his mind. In short ....(this) is a history of ideas, the autobiography of a mind in relation to the society in which it found itself."

Thus this book tells not only of one man's unique intellectual journey, but of the twists and curves in the road, the dangers along the way. It tells the story of a mind reacting to the forces around it, trying to comprehend the mysteries of social intercourse and setting its own bearing and direction amid the general confusion of a badly confused age. Nock is a man of many political dimensions, a liberal Jeffersonian who becomes a reforming Georgist and a devout Spencerian, then encounters two decades of disillusionment and dismay which compel him in increasing degrees to turn to Aristotle, Burke and Adams. Nock never abandons his early heroes, he merely becomes more selective in quoting them. He does not rush with open arms into the Conservative ranks; he finds himself recognizing, appreciating and even defending, after a while, the Conservative critique. He does this all with a wry humor and gently probing skepticism which is as enlightening as it is enjoyable.

The dominant theme of the *Memoirs* is the superfluity of the man of excellence in the modern world. Americans do not frown upon the life of the mind, they ignore the possibility of its existence. In fact, by the 1940's Americans (and most Westerners) were arriving at the point where value could only be conceived in terms of dollars and cents. The only way the average American could appreciate a Voltarian essay, a Beethoven sonata or a Rembrandt portrait was to know its price on the open market. Nock believed that three immutable laws were in operation in America and that they had enthroned a reign of materialism in American life more base and disintegrating to the human spirit than any tyrant would dare impose. He called them, respectively, Gresham's Law (Sir Thomas Gresham invented the famous formulation), Epstean's Law (Nock's friend Edward Epstean suggested this one to him), and the law of diminishing returns. Gresham's Law states that "bad money drives out the good." Epstean's Law declares that "man always intends to satisfy his needs and desires with the least possible exertion." The law of diminishing returns is the same one you learned in your high school economics course. Nock thought these laws could be applied to every realm of human activity: "By luck I stumbled on the discovery that Epstean's law, Gresham's law, and the law of diminishing returns operate as inexorably in the realm of culture; of politics; of social organization, religious and secular; as they do in the realm of economics."

In America the dominance of these forces resulted from a pervasive economism (Nock's own word for materialism) and produced the rule of the plutocracy. "In every civilization there is a dominant spirit or idea which gives a definite or distinct tone to the whole social life of the civilization. It determines. . .the individual's line of approach to life, establishes his views of life, and prescribes his demands on life." Henry Adams correctly identified the Virgin as the dominant figure of the high Middle Ages; in the 20th Century it is the dollar sign: "*Go and get it!*" was the sum of the practical philosophy presented to America's young manhood by all the voices of the age ... Now I was looking at the great avatars of their practical philo-

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sophy, the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Fricks, Hills, Huntingtons, of the period. I asked myself whether any amount of wealth would be worth having if — as one most evidently must —one had to become just like these men in oder to get it. To me, at least, decidedly it would not; I should be a superfluous man in the scuffle for riches. I observed their qualities and practices closely, considered the furniture of their minds, remarked their scale of values, and could come to no other conclusion. Well, then, could a society built to a complete realization of every ideal of the economism they represented be permanently satisfactory to the best reason and spirit of man? Could it be called a civilized society? The thing seemed preposterous, absurd... After wealth, science, invention had done all for such a society that they could do, it would remain without savour, without depth, *uninteresting*, and withal horrifying."

Nock's slow conversion to Conservatism became more pronounced as he began to identify the rule of economism with social democracy and the rise of Ortega y Gasset's mass-man. A direct correlation exists between social democracy and the impulse toward egalitarianism which levels everything to a dull mediocrity. The man of excellence is democracy's casualty. Only a society contained by prescriptive values can comfortably accomodate variety; the society which is only nominally free, the liberal society, promotes dullness as a virtue. A society founded on the premise of bestowing happiness to every man, instead of protecting every man's right to pursue his own happiness, is a society which negates freedom and digs at the roots of order. Nock believed that "Western society had everywhere lost is stability and that is collapse was nearer than one might think." He agreed with his old friend, Ralph Adams Cram, that this was an age "...in which all sense of direction had been lost, all consistency of motive in action; all standards of value abolished or reversed ... With no lucid motive for doing anything in particular, self-appointed arbiters in almost every field of human activity from painting to politics were starting the first thing that came into their heads, tiring of it in a week, and lightly starting something else... The futile philosophies, the curious religions, and the unearthly superstitions of the last days of Rome were matched and beaten by a fantastic farrago of auto-intoxication, while manners and morals lay under a dark eclipse."

If all this sounds like the prophecy of a Jeremiah or the rantings of a manic-depressive, it is only because I have culled those selections which demonstrate Nock's rather skeptical outlook. A far greater portion of the book is devoted to sparkling observations on the foibles and conceits of the human animal and a cheerful recollection of a life well spent. Nock was not a man known for walking around with a black cloud over his head. Professor Crunden relates one instance which gives us an insight into the capriciousness of Nock's mind: during the height of his career when he was editing the *Freeman* and contributing heavily to popular periodicals, it was widely circulated among New York intellectual and literary circles that the only way to contact him was to leave a note under a certain rock in Central Park. No man with the ingenuity to protect his privacy to that degree could be boring.

You see, perhaps, why I love Nock and why I return to him in an attempt to understand the Holiday-Inn-mentality of my fellow countrymen. Coming from the South, seeing Hawaii again, recalling the things over which I have recently marvelled and dispaired, I find in Nock the clearest and most striking description of our departure from the Platonic goal of the good life. L. Brent Bozell had said, "The story of how the free society has come to take priority over the good society is the story of the decline of the West." That quote has gained authority with me, if only because Albert Jay Nock has shown to my satisfaction the immense irony of history: that the "free" society corrodes and corrupts the capacity of free men to reach beyond themselves to touch the stars. "Neibuhr was right," said Goethe, "when he saw a barbarous age coming. It is already here, we are in it, for in what does barbarism consist, if not in the failure to appreciate what is excellent." □

For more literature by Albert J. Nock, contact the Nockian Society of 30 South Broadway, Irvington, New York, 10533. no officers, no dues, no meetings.

— RJM

The Politics of Disorder

by Dr. Arnold Weber
Basic Books, $6.95

Something disconcerting happened to Arnold Weber on his way back to the University of Chicago. He was leaving a position at the Office of Management and Budget when he was waylaid and installed as Executive Director of the Cost of Living Council.

At a recent briefing for Senate staff, Dr. Weber mused about the awesome power the Council wields. The power derives from a law containing 406 words, the important ones being "The President is authorized to issue such orders and regulations as he may deem appropriate to stabilize prices, rents, wages and salaries" and "The President may delegate the performance of any function under this title to such officers, departments and agencies of the United States as he may deem appropriate." Is it not curious, Weber said, that such lean legislation can have such large consequences.

If Weber makes it back to the University, he should walk down the Midway to the political science department for a chat with Prof. Theodore J. Lowi, who has written two books (one and a half, really) on the problems, practical and philosophical, arising from massive delegations of authority to Government agencies.

The first book was *The End of Liberalism*, a stern indictment with a timid solution appended. The indictment was of interest group "pluralist" government which Lowi said results in a kind of feudalism: government favors bestowed by law, through executive agencies, on groups powerful enough to force a payoff. These groups include every major economic interest.

Lowi's proposed solution was "juridical democracy," which he equated with a restored rule-of-law. He contrasted this with "policy without law" which, he says (plausibly, in my judgment) we have now with the practice of governing "through broad grants of authority to administrators." With juridical democracy, the Supreme Court would declare "invalid and unconstitutional any delegation of power to an administrative agency that is not accompanied by clear standards of implementation." That would eliminate "all vagueness in legislative delegation of power."

Now that might be a good thing. But it would hardly constitute the end of liberalism. Still, Lowi is sticking to his popguns in his latest book, *The Politics of Disorder* which he says is an "extension" of *The End of Liberalism*.

The rhetoric is hotter, the argument less rigorous, and the attention to concrete policies, which was the strength of the last book, is gone. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that these changes reflect a reluctance to confront a really radical thought: the conservatives may have a point.

Maybe there are somethings that government just should not do at all because it will always turn them over to agencies that are literally irresponsible.

Does Lowi believe that (say) the Interstate Commerce Commission does an unsatisfactory job of regulating truck freight rates? If so, is this an example of an unfortunate exercise of discretionary power that should not be delegated by the legislature? If so, what does he propose? Should Congress set truck rates? How would that improve things?

Congress does not delegate the power to set sugar quotas. Congress sets them. Does Lowi like the result? Does he like the effect of such activity on the legislative process?

What does Lowi think causes legislators to grant discretionary power to the executive branch? Legislators are not shrinking violets. They do not make a habit of giving up power. Does Lowi wonder why they delegate the power to set truck freight rates? Can he envision what would happen if 100 Senators set out to promote their constituents interests, in a floor, fight over freight rates? It would be instructive for Lowi to identify the relevant differences between those matters on which Congress does and does not delegate its power.

Lowi does not understand the most interesting possibility of his "jurdicial

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democracy." If the Court made Congress take real responsibility for all the programs it so half-heartedly and half-way undertakes, Congress might become very judicious about sticking its thumbs in new pies. If Congress had to fuss with the tiresome application of all the power is distributes, it would reduce that distribution faster than you can say, "Senate, please legislate freight rates for scrap steel."

In fact, if the District of Columbia ever does get "home rule" it will not be because the arguments in favor of it are especially compelling (which they are not) but rather because Senators and Congressmen are too busy to bother with supervising the District's affairs.

Of the book's eight chapters, half are only tenuously related to Lowi's main theme. The others are especially disappointing.

Item:

Lowi laments what he considers the paucity of "leaders" in the Senate, a paucity he attempts to demonstrate with this astonishing observation: "Note that only one thin volume was required to record all our *Profiles in Courage*." The implication that courage" and "leadership" are the same thing is as implausible as the implication that author Kennedy considered his book a comprehensive record of the former.

Item:

He sets out to examine "tolerance." But he winds up talking about "trust," which is not the same thing. And neither trust nor tolerance can be guaged (as he tries to guage it) by the frequency of meetings by the Old House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Item:

He argues that universities are "biased" because their "output" is not "neutral." Without explaining what a "neutral output" would be, he says that universities have "policies" and therefore are politicized. Such *non sequiturs* have derailed many universities in the last decade.

Enough. If Lowi wants to challenge liberalism he might give some attention to conservatism. But Lowi does not even treat conservatism with disdain. He does not treat it at all. Perhaps that is just as well, considering that he thinks Louis XIV and Huey Long were both conservatives.

Lowi is a liberal and he says the purpose of his book is to appeal "to those liberals who are desparately searching for explanations and alternatives for this present plight." That is a very decorous description of the liberals' search. They are searching for explanations that will not threaten the plausibility of liberalism, and for alternatives that are consistent with familiar liberal premises.

Lowi wants to save liberalism from any reall painful admissions — like the admission that conservatives may be right about the limited uses of government. The nation may be suffering vertigo as a result of the stresses of the 1960s. But those places—like the Federal government, New York City, universities — where liberalism enjoyed clearest sway are suffering something akin to demoralization and desperation. Judging by this book, one must conclude that the criticism of liberalism is too vital to be entrusted to liberals.

George F. Will

The Hidden Life of Emily Dickinson

By John Evangelist Walsh
Simon & Schuster, $7.95

Every happy household harbors at least one skeleton in its closet and the Dickinson's had a whopper — daughter Emily. Called the "Myth" by the local townspeople and known to dress only in white, she would occasionally be glimpsed flitting by her window or heard scurrying down a darkened hallway at the first threat of visitors. But somehow, in between darting behind the moment's most accessible piece of furniture or blending in with the drapes at the tiniest tinkle of the front doorbell, this wildly eccentric recluse managed to jot down some of the finest lines ever written by an American female poet.

The only known extant portrait was taken at age seventeen and if the daguerreotype doesn't lie (though 'tis cruel to say) one can only wonder what took the retreat to the garret so long. "My face has not changed," Emily writes as a teenager, nor will it in time to come. I shall always remain the same old six pence." Miss Dickinson was telling it like it was. Purse-lipped, boxer-nosed, walnut-jowelled, she is the archetypal spinster librarian at the Circulation Desk, herself destined to circulate no farther than the desk.

Always good for a snicker or two, poor old Emily has taken her biographical lumps, for if there's anything one recalls from that stone-dry high school literature text sophomores lugged around, it was the innuendo-studded section on the virgin hermit from Amherst. With *The Hidden Life of Emily Dickinson* author John Evangelist Walsh gets in a few more lumps and an occasional snicker or two at his subject's expense. But what lumps and what snickers!

Completely ignoring the poetry with the deftness of a selling biographer, Walsh gets down to the nitty gritty of Miss Dickinson's "hidden life" and what a life it turns out to be. He's done old Emily proud—reciprocated love letters to a married man, a lawyer and an old friend of the family, thought to be a pillar of staid Boston society. You mean she wasn't up there just writing poems? Even as a high school sophomore you suspected as much. No one treks up to a musty old attic room every night just to write about snakes. One can imagine the prospective doctoral candidate in English beating his head against the blackboard at having missed so golden a literary coup. And there it sat all those years just begging attention — much as our little wallflower poet must have done. Well, seek and ye shall find — eh, Emily?

If Mr. Walsh is looking for a blurb for second edition, he's got it: not since *The Passover Plot* has a mystery been so fascinatingly unravelled after being based on so blatant a hodgepodge of hypothetical conjecture. But one suspects the ad-men would have to do a bit of pruning with that one, much as Mr. Walsh does with Miss Dickinson's "hidden life" in this puffball of a biography. Until someone really does do Emily proud, Dickinson admirers will have to endure this sort of cocktail talk mini-opus that flings the attic door wide open on the man hungry virgin hermit that stalked the anterooms of Amherst. But then Mr. Walsh is not the first, and no doubt will not be the last, to have the hussy swinging from the chandelier after another lost weekend out at the parson's lakeside retreat. We know, for instance, Who will have the last word on *The Passover Plot* but who will run the gauntlet for a fallen poet? Where is Gloria Steinem when we need her?

Still, one may honestly ask the question: Why the attic assumption? Simply because she was painfully unattractive? Or perhaps there was a prince charming in every way but infidelity. Broken mirror or lost lover — they are the two more popular hypotheses set forth by biographers in explaining the sudden turning away from the world. Mr. Walsh adds a third plagiarism. Yes, you see while her evenings were pretty much given over to adultery (a time-consuming passion, you understand), Miss Dickinson did manage a few afternoons in which to cull from Mrs. Browning's soon forgotten *Aurora Leigh*. That explains the poetry.

Mr. Walsh is the author of a highly praised book on Edgar Allan Poe which I have not read. (The Raven, as it turns out, actually being a myna bird purloined from a deranged Russian mystic.) The moment is ripe for a scholarly attempt at treating Emily Dickinson as simply a common girl with an uncommon genius for poetry who just didn't mix well. You're right, it wouldn't sell. So count on the next installment, the one with all the compromising daguerreotypes the family couldn't suppress. It's been eighty-five years now since the fragile woman dressed in white was lowered in obscurity into her coffin. You've come a long way, baby.

James Bennett

James Bennett is a graduate student in the Writing Seminars at Johns Hopkins University.

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LETTER FROM A WHIG
(continued from page 4)

every city council will have a piece of the action.

6) The "check off" plan as drafted contains no effective provision for policing the use of these substantial sums. Every presidential campaign generates millions of bills, receipts, budgets, etc. Who is going to monitor the mountain of paper to see that the money is spent for legitimate campaign expenses? Who is going to prevent some sub-Wallace figure from putting his relatives on the campaign pay-roll at $50,000 a month? The answer is that no one will prevent it because there is nothing in the bill to prevent it. It would be perfectly legal.

7) Note that the money is given to individuals, not to parties. This will further weaken parties and party responsibility, while making strong (and particularly charismatic) candidates increasingly independent of party organization. Party organization, it is well to remember, is the place where real participatory democracy is practiced in this Republic.

8) So this will just leave the parties free to do what they do now — that is, raise as much money as possible. But then the parties can spend the money for other political chores, such as funding voter registration campaigns. Quick now, guess: What party benefits most from aggressive registration drives that fill the voting rolls with people who, under normal circumstances, would be too lethargic to bestir themselves for any civic activities?

9) And what about the individuals who get the money? If they have only modest means of their own, they will supplement the public funds with the usual private fund raising activities. If during pre-Pastore amendment days X million dollars were spent in Presidential campaigns, and the Pastore amendment makes Y dollars available, then it is a lead pipe cinch that approximately X *plus* Y dollars will be spent in the next election. I realize that the bill stipulates that not more than X dollars should be spent, but there is no way to police this.

10) The real effect of the Pastore amendment will be governed by a version of Gresham's law. This version, henceforth known as Will's Law, is that public campaign money drives private money into the primaries. That is, guarantee that the candidate will be well funded in the final race, and you encourage people to put their private money behind candidates seeking nominations. The rich will be especially free with their own money in primary races. Thus the effect of the Pastore amendment may be to make it harder for men of modest means to get nominated.

11) Once the Government begins to pay for campaigns, it will not be long before a variety of Federal controls — "guidelines" — will be forthcoming. That has been the pattern in Federal aid to agriculture; and Federal aid to education, at every level; and Federal aid to everything else. There is no reason to believe that campaigns will be exempt from the iron law of Federal aid: strings follow cash.

I do not know what the guidelines are apt to be. But I am sure that they will work for the short term gain of the party that controls the Congress that passes them. And the fact that I cannot think of what these guidelines will be only convinces me that they will be unimaginably pernicious. To repeat, we can be sure that the Pastore amendment will give birth to a variety of "guidelines" designed to influence who runs, and when and where and under what circumstances the campaigns take place.

12) So for four years good Democrats "check off" a dollar for the Democratic Party. Presumably these good Democrats are not supposed to care who will be nominated or who will wind up spending their money. Will it be Kennedy? Jackson? Shirley Chisolm? The ethic implicit in the Pastore amendment is: Shut up and fork over, and pay for whomever we decide to run.

13) Yes, the Democratic Party is in debt and has its problems. These problems — and not public revenues — should be the wages of sin. Make no mistake about it. There are only three reasons why the Democratic Party is in trouble with the electorate: its past record, and its current issues and candidates. Now comes the Pastore amendment to guarantee that no matter how much more incompetent and unrepresentative the Democratic Party becomes, it can still count on a sizeable slug of public revenues.

14) There is a case to be made for the position that this "check off" practice is unconstitutional because it denies "equal protection" of the laws to minor parties. This is so because it tends to freeze the three existing parties into well-subsidized existence, while making it very difficult indeed for any other parties to compete by starting from scratch.

Admittedly this is not the first law which works against the proliferation of parties. Many state laws concerning procedures for getting a party on the ballot are designed to make it difficult for minor parties to prosper. I must admit, I at least enjoy this practice while questioning the principle — and I am not even sure the principle is bad. That is, a stable two-party system is so beneficial that I would hate to see an attack mounted against these laws. But if the Pastore amendment becomes law, then perhaps we will have reached a point at which justice and utility are no longer served by what will then be an excessive pattern of discrimination against unestablished parties.

15) The mechanics of administering this "check off" system will be complicated and expensive. The Internal Revenue Service has always said that it can not handle each tax return individually. That is one very good reason why the basic IRS audit is limited and random. But now each return will have to be scanned for the "check off" detail.

16) The cost of administering this — sorting out the dollars, categorizing them, distributing them to the individuals—will be substantial. It will require a lot of new programs, a large staff, a director to direct this empire; can he live without a car and driver? Then there is land to be purchased and a new building to be built. This is how Washington's empires grow. I would not be at all surprised if, at least in the first years, the cost of administering the "check off" system equalled or even exceeded the amount of money actually disbursed to the parties. In that case the cost of the "check off" plan to the Treasury will be more than double the figure originally anticipated.

But enough of this. Is it possible that this "check off" plan might be aborted?

As I write this the tax bill is on the way to conference with the House where conferees will iron out the differences between the two versions of the bill. It is almost certainly too much to hope that the House Conferences (a majority of whom will be Democrats) will oppose the Pastore amendment. Thus the only possibility for eleminating the "check off" plan resides with the Presi-

CORRESPONDENCE

To the editor:

I just heard that the current *Alternative* contains a letter written by me.

Egotist that I am, I would like to have a copy. Enclosed please find a check for fifty cents (please bill me if that's not sufficient).

Thank you!

Lynn Kinsky
Santa Barbara, California

To the Editor:

For two months now we have been receiving what we consider a very vulgar, smutty sort of magazine entitled *The Alternative* addressed to a Sister Paschal. We have not subscribed to this disgusting type of printed matter and ask you to please discontinue sending the booklet to us. We are ashamed to have our mailman even deliver such poor literature to us.

(Anonymous)
St. Gabriel School
Greenville, North Carolina

(Ah how sophisticated are the ways of the modern Klan in its schemes to discredit Mother Church —RET.)

To the Editor:

I find your publication an excellent and timely commentary.

Craig Edwards
Hanover College
Hanover, Indiana

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The Bootblack Stand

Dr. George Washington Plunkitt, our prize-winning political analyst, has just completed a penetrating study of the last Congolese election. Published in August, it focuses on the unique position of minority groups in the Congolese electoral process; it can be purchased in all bookstores. It is titled *Escape! A New Demand Response System*. Now, through this column, the distinguished Dr. Plunkitt has agreed to advise American statesmen in this time of troubles. Address all correspondence to The Bootblack Stand, The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana 47401, Continental U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:
I'm the only Senator who hasn't been considered by a national magazine as a front runner for the Democratic nomination. What can I do?

Cordially,
Lawton Chiles, U.S.S.

Dear Mr. Chiles:
I am returning your letter unanswered. This column is to assist statesmen, and I doubt that you actually are a U.S. Senator since no one has ever mentioned you as a Presidential candidate.

—GWP

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:
If I am raised to the Supreme Court can I possibly avoid sitting next to Justice Douglas without hurting his feelings? I have heard that he never wears any clothing under his judicial robes and that he talks in his sleep.

Sincerely,
Lewis F. Powell, Jr.

Dear Mr. Powell:
It is most unlikely that you will hurt Justice Douglas' feelings, for he is going to be in the hospital much of this winter. You see this summer the Justice suffered severe brain damage while sitting under a women's hair dryer at a sit-in at the Luscious Skull Beauty Salon in Arlington, Virginia.

Of course more brain damage is not a terribly serious debility for a man like Justice Douglas, but Liberal critics of the court feel his commentaries will lose some of their old zing if he does not undergo surgery by February. Thus he will be under treatment at the Arlington Veterinary Clinic this winter where he will undergo a brain transplant replacing his own damaged instrument with that of a four-year-old Guernsey cow.

—GWP

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dent's veto power. (There are moments, and this is one of them, when I almost—but only almost — wish the President was armed with an item veto.)

The problem is that, artistically speaking, the Democrats did a very stylish job of attaching the Pastore amendment to the tax bill. Before moving the amendment, they helped load the bill with sugar plums. Sugar plums, of course, are supposed to serve as insurance against a veto.

The tax bill does three things which a substantial number of Americans would not like to see undone by a Presidential veto.

First, it raises the individual exemption from $650 to $750 or $800. A direct $100 or $150 bonus is a rarity: it is a noticeable, tangible benefit from the Government. It is worth more, politically, than a slew of trips to Peking.

Second, the bill contains the repeal of the excise tax on automobiles. The repeal will mean an average rebate of $200 for each person who has purchased an automobile since the freeze" began on 15 August. The promise of that rebate, plus the price freeze on 1972 models, plus the general wave of optimism about the economy caused an enormous spurt of automobile sales. More than three million cars have been sold during the freeze." If two thirds of these have been bought by married adults, there are five million voters who stand to lose $200 if the excise tax is not repealed. And they would like to have that $200 in time for the Christmas shopping. And given the current consumer boom, the politicians in the Administration and the economists at Treasury (the two categories are *not* exclusive) would like to put that $200 into the hands of consumers anxious to put it right back into the economy.

Third, the bill contains a provision whereby working mothers in families with a gross income of $18,000 or less deduct up to $400 a month for child care. More than 40 percent of American wives work. So a lot of voters are already counting this chicken and they will be peeved if it does not hatch.

Still, the President might veto the tax bill and get away with it. In fact, he could veto it and put the monkey on the back of the Democrats if he were to go on television and explain that the Democrats were raiding the Treasury and that he would not stand for it. He could express his anxiety about the good things in the vetoed tax bill. Then he could end his five minute speech by announcing that he is calling the Congress back into emergency session and that he hoped the Democratic-controlled Congress would have the decency to act with dispatch to redecorate the Christmas tree, up to but not including Pastore's star on top.

The real moral of this story is that, given enough rhetorical rope, the Democrats have hung themselves. For several years now the principle Democratic slogan has been that it is time to reorder our priorities." In ramming through the Pastore amendment, the Democrats clearly stated that subsidizing the Democratic Party is their first priority. It ranks higher than national defense, increased aid to education, or more spending for the environment — it ranks at the very top of their list.

PROPOSAL
(continued from page 11)

condoned by our modern liberal society.

There would be a salutary by-product of this practical sociologic innovation. The rich, impressive, ceremony attendant to these infant sacrifices would lend color to our drab existences and would rekindle the flames of patriotic fervor which are so lacking today. The Phoenicians and later their descendants, the Carthaginians, found that these ceremonies, and the necessary sacrifices involved, brought their people together and heightened their religious and civic sensibilities.

Of course, I do not intend that the people of this world revert to worshiping the god, Moloch. A few of us may have read in the Bible that such pagan worship was considered by some of the prophets as an abomination. The Christian religion, among others, would likely take a dim view of this proposal were we to worship any other than our present deities. But today there seem to be a number of secular institutions widely acclaimed by the organized religions to which various sacrifices are deemed proper and are encouraged. Perhaps our little human sacrifices could be made to the United Nations, that organization dedicated to the solution of world tensions and problems, not the least of which is the population explosion. Since atheism, the creed of the socialists and communists, is becoming so popular in our universities, the liberal clergy is anxious to free us from the restraints and shackles of traditional dogma, and our Supreme Court has declared that official encouragement of Christianity is unconstitutional, perhaps we need a new religion, a religion without God, yet dedicated to social welfare. This would seem to be the trend of our times.

The above is the second satire on abortion which has appeared in The Alternative *under the pen name "Johnathan Quick," who is in fact Dr. George B. Markle, a Carlsbad, New Mexico medical doctor.*

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"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad." – Euripedes

Editor's Note: The following passages of joy and wisdom were made possible by just one issue of the famous Nation, *perhaps the greatest student publication in Christendom.*

THE NATION

The proud state of metaphysical inquiry at *The Nation* **as revealed on the back pages of that illustrious journal:**

There is a desire for unity among the consciously oppressed groups in America. What is it that feminists, blacks, Chicanos, homosexuals, West Virginia miners, et al., have in common, beyond their oppression? Can they combine their energies, and perhaps arouse and give a broad social direction to the vast forces of passive resentment and frustration now dormant in this country?

Could it be that this little profundity appeared in the very same left of liberal journal that urges Congress to assert itself and deny the executive branch all those accumulated "administrative devices?"

So the United States is faced with a U.N. crisis which Peking will join Moscow in exploiting. Unless the President is prepared to flout the United Nations, he must, however reluctantly and tardily, jettison his "Southern strategy" in Rhodesia. He must move vigorously to block the chrome amendment while it is still on the Hill. Or failing that, he must find an administrative device to prevent Rhodesian chrome from entering the country.

A formula for presidential greatness is proffered to Mr. Nixon by *The Nation* **whose "statesmanlike view" is celebrated throughout Christendom and even in New York.**

If the President wants a Southerner for "balance," replacing Black, there are several whom he could name and who would encounter no difficulty in the Senate. But if he insists on someone tailored exactly to his specifications, he is headed for further abrasive confrontations. If only, for once, he would swallow his prejudices and take a statesmanlike view of his job, he would not only do the country a service but might begin to be respected as a man who has been spiritually enlarged by the high office he holds.

Vice and gaming as reported by the New Era Liberals at *The Nation*:

Baltimore took a chance. The 1971 fair opened on a sunny Friday afternoon with twice as many neighborhood booths as participated the year before, rock groups on three outdoor stages, harbor excursions, five beer gardens, and a concert by the full Baltimore Symphony Orchestra (driven into the lobby of a friendly bank when it started to rain).

The condition of courage and darkness as seen by *The Nation*:

Through one man's courageous act, the darkness surrounding our past involvement in Vietnam has diminished a little. We were lucky, this time. Will we be so again? Will there be another Ellsberg next time?

The celebrated author of *Uptown*. **Mr. Todd Gitlin, profers his eager audience a timeless truth about "insurgent politics" and stone:**

In a time of rapid change, amidst shifts not only in style but in the social bedrock beneath style, any person who maintains the same insurgent politics for more than thirty years is remarkable.

"I remember Wally" by the venerable old ex-Senator from Alaska Senator Ernest Gruening, long a devotee of Horatio Alger legends and all that traditional slop about rising from a log cabin:

President Nixon fired Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel on Thanksgiving eve, 1970. He had served in that Cabinet post for twenty-months. The story thereof, and of his life, private and public to date, has been, as he declares, "written for the young of all ages, the young of thought who refuse to be locked into the past, who do not fear the challenge of change, and who anticipate the hope of the future."

"Wally," as he has become widely known, is himself one of these, as his book and his public career attest, and he adds the self-evident truism that "we are at a time in our national history when mistrust of the responsiveness of government to the popular will has reached a critical point — a point at which increasing numbers of Americans feel denied and even robbed of the power to influence public policy; a point at which the cry is 'return it to us.' "

A self-made man from a farm-tenant background in Kansas, Hickel went to Alaska in 1940, at age 20, with 47c in his jeans, washed dishes, tended bar, performed other wage labor, till his savings and a persuasive pitch to bankers allowed him to start building houses, then hotels and shopping centers, and enabled him to acquire a fortune.

Yet another ugly aspect of the misery endured by Americans during these Dark Days, related to us by that distinguished Solomon of the Supreme Court of California, Mathew O. Tobriner:

In the last few weeks the lid has blown off that ugliest aspect of the American legal system: the penitentiary. And one issue that has emerged from the tragic events is the responsibility of judges to offenders after conviction — an issue that, long neglected, now compels, and in part has arrested, the attention of the courts.

Professor Marshall Goldman presciently remarks on what is bound to be a turning point in world history:

From June to October of this year, at least seventeen international conferences have been called to discuss one or another aspect of pollution. These sessions provide a foretaste of what promises to be the most dramatic of all scientific-political conference — the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, scheduled for next June 5-16 in Stockholm.

A cheery travel note on cosmopolitan China from the renowned Roland Berger who has been to the Celestial Empire nineteen times — eight trips during the practically bloodless Cultural Revolution:

The flood of foreign visitors pouring in and out of China today is a sardonic reminder that less than two years ago the commentators were telling the world that "China is isolated." Anything less like isolation than the Peking scene of recent months could hardly be imagined. An Australian friendship delegation had just departed.

AT THE EDGE OF HISTORY
By William Irwin Thompson

Harper and Row have published an entertaining little tome that shows the publish or perish syndrome at least produces a horselaugh or two:

"...classes can be so interest-bound that they cannot perceive reality outside the terms that sustain their power...it is extremely important that we adopt an alien point of view if only to open our minds and free ourselves of the ethnocentrism of our former position."

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CONTINUING CRISIS
(continued from page 2)

and New York. When asked about his political plans his aides explain confidentially that he may run for governor in 1974. On 19 November Senator Henry Jackson announced that he is running for the presidency, as is Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles. Democrats continued to fret over what they called the "quality" of Mr. Nixon's Supreme Court nominees. It seems that, especially Mr. Rehnquist, has not shared Senator Bayh's views these past few years. On 23 November the Senate Judiciary Committee did approve the nominations, but Senator Bayh promised to thrill the Senate with what he imagined would be a "sophisticated philosophical" inquiry when the nominations are discussed on the Senate floor, probably on 2 December.

• The Republic moved into Phase II of Mr. Nixon's economic plan on 15 November, and Mr. George Meany lived up to his name. According to government statistics the Consmer Price Index rose 0.2 percent in September and 0.1 percent in October. And Ralph Nader, the eminent busy body, swore off hot dogs while lamenting that the average American downs seventy-five of the vile things a year. In Chicago Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond of the American Cancer Society announced that a definite connection has been found between cancer and early sex. The Cigar Smokers of America voted to admit women to their 10th Annual Convention, and the Young Men's Christian Association voted to admit women. But a backlash seemed to be coiling up in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania where State Attorney General J. Shane Creamer issued the opinion that women's beauty parlors may not refuse to cut or style the hair of male patrons. The British Agricultural Research Institute has developed the essence of male pig in an aerosol can. "It really turns on the sows," according to a highly-placed Institute official.

• From Negombo, Ceylon comes word that the coconut crop is again imperiled, this time by an insect half the size of a pin. A similar menace endangered Israel when on 20 November Egyptian President Anwar Sadat threatened imminent war with that nation; Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban suggested "immediate negotiations" as a more prudent course for Sadat.

• On 18 November China, the latest peace-loving nation to be admitted to the United Nations, exploded an above-ground nuclear device. Two days earlier Emperor Hirohito gave the first press conference in his forty-five year reign. A military junta assumed authority in Thailand.

• The heavens opened over the home of a Knoxville, Tennessee judge and a nine hundred pound dummy bomb fell through the judge's roof. Senator Harold Hughes shaved his beard. Peace protestors were surprisingly inactive on "Peace Action Day." And in Sarasota, Florida the President of New College, Dr. John Elmendorf, has yet to respond to the twenty-five coeds who entered his office demanding higher pay for female employees and free contraceptives. The system still seems unable to grapple with the dynamism of change. □

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Saturday Evening Club is pleased to announce acquisition of the services of Mr. Lorenzo Semeria for the 1972 racing season. Mr. Semeria has served many successful drivers in Canada, Latin America and the United States. Earlier employees have included Mr. Pedro Rodriguez and Mr. Jim Clark.

Author's Query

I am writing a history of the Washington YMCA and am encountering real difficulty chronicling the history of the three stalls on the west wall of the basement lavatory. Anyone having any information on that area, especially graffiti and telephone number, please let me hear from you. Also I would be interested in your phone number.

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